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EARLY RAILWAY TIME TABLES¹

By E. H. DRING

IN the history of all developments nothing is so striking as the contrast between the humble initial effort and the completed production, whether it be owing to natural forces or human skill. This is forcibly exemplified in the study of Bradshaw's Railway Guides and by a comparison of the first infant issue of Bradshaw's Railway Guide with the latest matured issue of last month. Like the grain of mustard seed which from the least of seeds became a tree in which the birds of the air lodged, so has this humble production of 19 October 1839 grown up into a national institution of large volume and value. 'What books do you consult most?' a political adherent once asked John Bright in the midst of an arduous campaign. 'The Bible' and 'Bradshaw' was the reply of the statesman. There be people who say neither can be understood without a commentary, but I leave the discussion of such a statement to theologians and commercial travellers. In my own experience I have heard many women who knew the Bible well and could expound it, but I never remember meeting a woman who could understand Bradshaw.

George Bradshaw who was the founder of this enterprise was a Quaker and a map maker and engraver by calling, and

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 October 1921.

in giving you some details of his career I cannot do better than extract a few passages from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

BRADSHAW (GEORGE), (1801-1853), originator of railway guides, only son of Thomas Bradshaw, by his wife, Mary Rogers, was born at Windsor Bridge, Pendleton, Salford, on 29 July 1801. His parents taxed their limited means to give a good education to their only child by placing him under the care of Mr. Coward, a Swedenborgian minister; thence he removed to a school kept by Mr. Scott at Overton, Lancashire. On leaving school he was apprenticed to Mr. J. Beale, an engraver, who had acquired some reputation by the execution of the plates of 'The art of Penmanship Improved,' by Duncan Smith, 1817. In 1820 he accompanied his parents to Belfast, and there established himself as an engraver and printer, but, not finding adequate occupation, returned to Manchester in the following year. His attention had been for some time directed to the engraving of maps, and in 1827 he determined to devote himself more especially to that branch of art. The first map projected, engraved, and published by him was one of Lancashire, his native county. This was followed in 1830 by his map of the Canals of Lancashire, Yorkshire, &c. This map eventually became one of a set of three known as 'Bradshaw's Maps of Inland Navigation'. This was followed by a still more ambitious Railway map of Great Britain, showing the levels of the lines, which was published in 1838. His Railway Time Tables appeared in the following year.

Bradshaw when a young man joined the Society of Friends, and was an active coadjutor of Cobden, Pease, Sturge, Scoble, Elihu Burritt, and others in holding peace conferences, in attempts to establish an ocean penny postage, and other philanthropic labours. Part of this time he devoted to the establishment of schools for the poorer classes. Bradshaw joined the institution of Civil Engineers as an associate in February 1842. In August 1853 he went to Norway on a tour combining business and recreation, and on 6 Sept., while on a visit to a friend in the neighbourhood of Christiania, he was seized by Asiatic cholera, and died in a few hours. He was buried in the cemetery belonging to the Cathedral of Christiania.

He married on 16 May 1839, Martha, daughter of William Darbyshire of Stretton, near Warrington, and left a son, Christopher.

It has often been stated that Bradshaw was the originator of Time Tables, while others have claimed priority, but by the term 'originator of Time Tables' must obviously be understood the originator of collecting the time tables of various companies and publishing them together in a portable

Liverpool and Manchester RAIL-WAY.

TIME OF DEPARTURE

BOTH

From Liverpool & Manchester.

FIRST CLASS, FARE 5s.

*Seven o'Clock Morning.**Ten " Do.**One " Afternoon.**Half-past Four Do.*

SECOND CLASS, FARE 3s. 6d.

*Eight o'Clock Morning.**Half-past Two Afternoon.*

. For the convenience of Merchants and others, the First Class evening train of Carriages does not leave Manchester on *Tuesdays and Saturdays until Half-past Five o'Clock.*

The journey is usually accomplished by the First Class Carriages under two hours.

In addition to the above trains it is intended shortly to add three or four more departures daily.

The Company have commenced carrying GOODS of all kinds on the Rail-way.

January, 1831.

Fig. 1. Time Bill of 1831. Reduced.

form. Long before 1839 the various Companies announced the times of the starting of the trains by means of small posters, pasted up on the stations and booking offices (see Fig. 1). Further in the various Railway Companions and Travellers' Guides, of which a large number were printed during the thirties and forties, describing the local routes and places of interest along the line of route, the times of departure and arrival with other useful information were given. The earliest one I know is 'Freeling's Liverpool and Manchester Railway Companion and Guide to both Towns', which from internal evidence was published in July or August 1836, and this gives the times of trains, fares, &c., &c.

Among the claims put forward for projecting pocket Time Tables there may be mentioned those of W. J. Adams (*Athenaeum*, 27 December 1873 and 24 January 1874), R. D. Kay (*ibid.* 17 January 1874), and John Gadsby (*Notes and Queries*, 6th Series xi. 15, 1885). But so far as I can trace nobody seems to have mentioned E. C. and W. Osborne, who I think approximate more nearly than any one else to being a rival to Bradshaw in the claim for priority.¹ The first two claimants, Adams and Kay, may be dismissed for lack of evidence. Gadsby's claim has been shown to be unfounded by the reprint of the first issue of Gadsby's Railway List, which is dated January 1840. There remain the Osbornes. Their Time Table is a small Table of the Grand Junction, London & Birmingham & Birmingham & Derby Railways. Price 6d., published by E. C. and W. Osborne, Birmingham, on an indefinite date but *before* 18 November 1839. I, however, do not think that the date was before 19 October; it was moreover a rival to Bradshaw No. 2 not No. 1.

My reasons for thinking that Bradshaw was the original conceiver of the portable form of time table are :

¹ But see Bridgen, *post*, p. 172.

(1) on account of it having two engraved maps of the rail-roads in Lancashire and Yorkshire and three engraved plans of Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds;

Published by E. C. and W. Osborn*, Bennett's Hill, Birmingham.									
BIRMINGHAM TO LIVERPOOL.									
STATIONS.									
	Distance to Birmingham.	LONDON MAIL. 2½ o'clock, A.M.	SECOND CLASS. 6 o'clock, A.M.	MAIL. 11½ o'clock, A.M.	FIRST CLASS. 2½ o'clock P.M.	LONDON MAIL. 2½ o'clock, P.M.	SECOND CLASS. 3½ o'clock, P.M.	MAIL. 6 o'clock, P.M.	
Birmingham	Miles	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	
FERRY BAR.....	3½	2 15	6 0	11 30	2 15	2 45	3 30	5 0	
NEWTON ROAD.....	6½		6 8				3 38		
Walsall	9½	2 33	6 30	11 48			3 50		
JAMES'S BRIDGE.....	10½		6 33				4 0		
WILLENHALL.....	12		6 46				4 3		
Wolverhampton	14½	2 44	6 56	11 59	2 45	3 14	4 26	5 29	
FOUR ASHES.....	20		7 13				4 43		
SPREAD EAGLE.....	21½		7 17				4 47		
PENRIDGE.....	24		7 30				5 0		
Stafford	29½	3 10	7 43	12 25	3 10	3 40	5 13	5 55	
BRIDGEFORD.....	32½		7 57				5 27		
NORTON BRIDGE.....	35		8 9				5 39		
Whitmore	43½	3 44	8 29	12 59	3 44	4 14	5 59	6 29	
MADELEY.....	46		8 41				6 11		
BASFORD.....	51½		8 53				6 23		
Crewe	54	4 9	8 59	1 24	4 9	4 39	6 29	6 54	
COPPENHALL.....	56		9 10				6 40		
MINSHULL VERNON.....	58½		9 18				6 48		
WINSFORD.....	61½		9 27				6 57		
Hartford	65½	4 38	9 37	1 53	4 38	5 8	7 7	7 23	
ACTON.....	68½		9 48				7 18		
FRESTON BROOK.....	72½		10 1				7 31		
MOORE.....	75		10 6				7 36		
Warrington	78	5 9	10 14	2 24	5 9	5 39	7 44	7 54	
NEWTON JUNCTION.....	82½		10 32				8 2		
Manchester AND Liverpool	97½	5 15	11 15	3 30	6 15	6 45	8 45	9 0	

Fig. 2. Osborne's Time Table, 1839.

(2) on account of the method in which it was printed.

Even if it be admitted that Osborne's Table appeared in October 1839 (and the trains shown are certainly before the alterations made in the mid-November issue of Bradshaw), the preparations for Bradshaw's publication must have taken him

some weeks if not months, because the drawing and engraving of five steel plates—three of which are elaborate scale plans of cities—are not done in a few days. On the other hand a rival publication like Osborne's, which has only two small skeleton maps, could have been set up in imitation of Bradshaw's work and produced ready for sale in a few days.

It will have been noticed in the short sketch I have given of Bradshaw's life that he was by trade a steel engraver and map designer, and I think it most probable that his original idea in publishing *Time Tables* was to use them as an outlet for his work as an engraver. Ten pages of the twenty-six pages of which the first edition of the *Time Tables* are composed, are steel engravings.

The method of production that Bradshaw adopted was entirely novel. The Table was printed on one side of a large sheet divided into sections equal in size to two pages of the completed book. These sections were cut up, folded in two, and the blank page (except¹ the first and last which were pasted on to a cover board) pasted against the blank back of the following page, thus obviating any sewing of sheets. It also had this advantage that should any particular page or double page section become obsolete it could easily be replaced by pasting a corrected section in its stead. That this is what happened I shall presently demonstrate.

The first issue of Bradshaw's *Railway Time Tables* was published on the 19th of the 10th month 1839, and was entirely devoted to the services between Liverpool, Manchester, York, Leeds, Selby, Sheffield, Preston and Bolton, with maps and plans (see collation below). On the page following the title which I shall call page 2 (bibliographically it might be called 3), is an 'Address:' 'This book is published by

¹ In the first issue of No. 1 there were paste-downs, on the returns of which the blank obverse of the title and the blank verso of p. 26 were pasted. All the later issues of 1839 and 1840 were as stated, as were also Osborne's tables.

'the assistance of the several Railway Companies, on which
'account the information it contains may be depended upon
'as being correct and authentic. . . . The next edition of

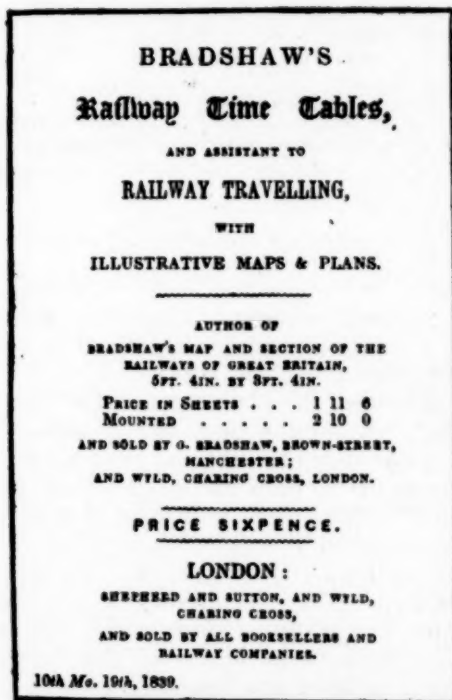


Fig. 3. Title of First Edition.

'this work will be published on the 1st of 1st Mo. 1840;
'and succeeding editions will appear every three months,
'with such alterations as have been made in the interval.'

The collation is as follows :

- P. 1. Title, with date Oct. 19, 1839.
2. Address.
- 3-4. Map¹ of the Railways in Lancashire (plate A).
- 5-6. Liverpool to Manchester (time table).
- 7-8. Liverpool (plan).
- 9-10. Manchester to Liverpool (time table).
- 11-12. Manchester (plan).
- 13-14. Manchester to Littleborough (time table).
- 15-16. Map² of the Manchester and Leeds, North Midland, York and North Midland, Leeds and Selby, and Sheffield and Rotherham railways.
- 17-18. York to Leeds and Selby [and] Sheffield and Rotherham railway (time tables).
- 19-20. Leeds (plan).
- 21-22. Preston to Liverpool and Manchester (time table).
- 23-24. Manchester to Bolton (time table).
- 25-26. Hackney coach fares from Lime Street, Liverpool, to . . .

This is the normal collation, but I have a copy of the third issue which never contained pp. 17-18, 21-2, and this has cab fares from Euston Station, London.

Of this publication there are three distinct variations due to alterations in the train services, and as each of these variations exist in more than one copy and in each case in precisely the same sequence, I have no hesitation in calling them distinct issues rather than individual variations. These variations are shown in illustrations 3 to 9.

On comparing Figs. 4 and 5 (pp. 146-7) it will be seen on the sixth line from the bottom that the station Heywood has been introduced in the second issue (Fig. 5), and also that on line 2 from the bottom 'Heywood' has become interpolated between Middleton and Rochdale.

¹ Of this map there were engraved two distinct plates : A, measuring about 138 mm. x 100 mm. ; and B, measuring 143 mm. x 107 mm. (the prints differ slightly owing to the paper stretching when pasted). B plate is differentiated from the former by the addition of *i.e.* Northwich and Allostock in the south and Broughton, Hawshaw, Langshaw Bridge, &c. in the north-east.

² In the subsequent issues this map was altered by the 'lines in progress' being 'chained' instead of being plain.

On comparing Figs. 6 and 7 there will be found in Fig. 6 underneath the table the line 'This train will be discontinued during the winter'. In Fig. 7 there are only five trains in the table instead of six, and the line has been deleted.

On comparing Figs. 8 and 9 it will be found that the latter has been changed altogether by the introduction of the 'Bolton and Leigh' Tables, this line having been opened late in the year.¹ I need not set out other minor differences.

All of the copies of these issues that I have seen have (with one exception) on the last two pages, 'Hackney Coach Fares from Lime Street Station, Liverpool.' The one exception has 'Hackney Coach Fares from Euston Station, London', and its having been issued for sale in the south may account for the fact that in this copy the four pages of cross-country Tables, 'Preston to Liverpool' and 'York to Leeds and Selby' have been omitted.

THE SECOND TIME TABLE

On 25 October 1839 (10th Mo. 25th, 1839) there appeared the second Time Table with an exactly similar title-page to the first except for the alteration in the date and the figure 2 in brackets in the right lower corner. This volume, however, is devoted more especially to the southern trains, London to Birmingham and Derby. The tables are London to Birmingham, Birmingham to London, Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester and vice versa, Liverpool to Manchester and vice versa, and abbreviated tables (one page) headed Birmingham and Derby, one page Thompson's Table showing the rate of travelling per hour and 2 pages of Coach Fares from Euston, with two maps of the Line from Birmingham to London, one of the Railways in Lancashire, and an engraved plan of Birmingham.

¹ The facsimile reprint of the first Bradshaw, issued some thirty years ago, was photographed from this third issue and not the first issue.

Collation :

P. 1. Title, with date Oct. 25, 1839, and (No. 2) in R. corner.

2. Address.

3-4. Map of railway Birmingham to Fenny Stratford.

MANCHESTER AND						
MANCHESTER TO LITTLEBOROUGH.		Departure from Mills Hill.	Departure from Blue Pits.	Departure from Rochdale.	Arrival at Littleboro'.	
HOOR.		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	
8 Morning	8	15	8	25	8	45
9 ..	9	15	9	25	9	45
10 ..	10	15	10	25	10	45
11 ..	11	15	11	25	11	45
1 Afternoon	1	15	1	25	1	45
3 ..	3	15	3	25	3	45
4 ..	4	15	4	25	4	45
6 ..	6	15	6	25	6	45
7 ..	7	15	7	25	7	45

SUNDAY						
HOOR.		H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	
8 Morning	8	15	8	25	8	45
9 ..	9	15	9	25	9	45
6 Afternoon	6	15	6	25	6	45
7 ..	7	15	7	25	7	45

FAR					
TO MILLS HILL.				T	
CLASS CARRIAGE.				Ct	
1ST.	2ND.	3RD.	1st	1st	
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s.	
1	6	1	0	0	2
—	—	—	—	1	
—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	

FROM MANCHESTER.....	
MILLS HILL.....	
BLUE PITS.....	
ROCHDALE.....	

Children under seven years of age, for First Class Carriage.
Third Class price. Infants in arms not charged.
Parcels for Oldham, Middleton, Rochdale, and Littleborough
Horse and Angel Inn, Market-street, Manchester.

Fig. 4. 19th October, 1839, First issue.

5-6. Map of railways Fenny Stratford to London, and Cambridge to London.

7-8. London to Birmingham (time table)

9-10. Birmingham to London (time table).

11-12. Birmingham (plan).

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- 13-14. Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester (time table).
 15-16. Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham (time table).
 17-18. Map of the Grand Junction and Manchester and Birmingham rail-ways.

MANCHESTER AL					
MANCHESTER TO LITTLEBOROUGH.	Departure from Mills Hill	Departure from Hey- wood & Blue Pits Bridge	Departure from Rochdale.	Arrival at Littleboro'.	
HOOR.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
8 Morning	8 15	8 25	8 35	8 45	8 45
9 ..	9 15	9 25	9 35	9 45	9 45
10 ..	10 15	10 25	10 35	10 45	10 45
11 ..	11 15	11 25	11 35	11 45	11 45
1 Afternoon	1 15	1 25	1 35	1 45	1 45
3 ..	3 15	3 25	3 35	3 45	3 45
4 ..	4 15	4 25	4 35	4 45	4 45
5 ..	5 15	5 25	5 35	5 45	5 45
6 ..	6 15	6 25	6 35	6 45	6 45
7 ..	7 15	7 25	7 35	7 45	7 45
SUNDAY					
HOOR.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.	H. M.
8 Morning	8 15	8 25	8 35	8 45	8 45
9 ..	9 15	9 25	9 35	9 45	9 45
5½ Afternoon	5 45	5 55	6 5	6 15	6 15
7 ..	7 15	7 25	7 35	7 45	7 45
F A I					
TO MILLS HILL.				T	
CLASS CARRIAGE.				C	
1ST.	2ND.	3RD.	1st		
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s.		
1 6	1 0	0 6	2		
FROM MANCHESTER.....	—	—	—		
MILLS HILL.....	—	—	—		
HEYWOOD & BLUE PITS B..	—	—	—		
ROCHDALE.....	—	—	—		

Children under seven years of age, for First Class Carriage Third Class price. Infants in arms not charged.
 Parcels for Oldham, Middleton, Heywood, Rochdale, and I the Flying Horse and Angel Inn, Market-street, Manchester, wi

Fig. 5. 19th October, 1839, Second issue.

- 19-20. Liverpool to Manchester, &c. (time table).
 21-22. Manchester to Liverpool, &c. (time table).
 23-24. Map of the railways in Lancashire (Plate B.)
 25-26. Hackney coach fares from Euston Station, London.

The third issue contains in addition :

Facing title, woodcut of the Entrance to London and Birmingham Railway (Euston), and a folding almanac for 1840.
pp. 25-6. Liverpool and Manchester Railway (L. to M. and M. to L.) on the same page, &c. as it appeared in the edition of 1 January 1840 of 'No. 3'.
pp. 27-8. Manchester Hackney Coach Fares.

MANCHESTER TO PRESTON.		Mixed T. 7 30 a.m.	1st Class 9 a.m.	1st Class 11 15 a.m.	Mixed T. 2 45 p.m.	Mixed T. 5 p.m.	1st Class 4 15 p.m.	First Class.	Second Class.
GOLBOURNE GATE.....								S. D.	S. D.
WIGAN								4 0	3 6
STANDISH LANE								5 0	3 6
COFFUL								6 0	4 0
EUSTON LODGE								7 0	6 0
LEYLAND.....								7 0	6 0
FARMINGTON LODGE								7 6	6 0
PRESTON.....								7 6	6 0

* This Train will be discontinued during the Winter.
+ Passengers by the last mentioned of the above Trains going to Preston, will have to wait at Parkside till the arrival of the Grand Junction 5 o'clock Train from Birmingham.

ON SUNDAYS the Morning Train will leave Preston at 6 45, Liverpool at 7 0, Manchester at 7 0
The 1st Evening Train will leave Preston at 5 15, Liverpool at 5 30, Manchester at 5 30
The 2d do. do. will leave Preston at 6 27, Liverpool at 7 15, Manchester at 7 15

From Preston to London. FARES.		From London to Preston. FARES.	
In the same Carriage at *9 45 A.M. 54s. 6d		In the same Carriage at 9 30 A.M. 54s. 6d	
Ditto Ditto at 6 27 P.M. 57 0		Ditto Ditto at 8 30 P.M. 57 0	
Changing Carriages at *2 57 A.M. 54 0		Changing Carriages at *8 45 A.M. 54 0	
Trains marked * will take private Carriages, &c.		Ditto Ditto *at 11 0 A.M. 54 0	

Fig. 6. 19th October, 1839, First issue.

p. 29. London and South Western (late Southampton) with Bolton and Leigh as it appeared in the edition of 25 January 1840 of 'No. 3'.

p. 30. North Union Railway.

pp. 31-2. Hackney Coach Fares from Euston.

There are three issues of this Time Table as there were of that of 19 October. In the first of these issues on pp. 15-16: 'Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham Section,' line 4 from the bottom reads: . . . Liverpool at 3.30, 8.15, 10.30, and 7.30—with the last 30 obliterated by ink. In the second and subsequent issue 7.30 is corrected to 7, without obliteration.

Two of the Tables in this work are common to the first work of 19 October, viz. pp. 19-20, the Tables Liverpool to Manchester and, pp. 21-2, Manchester to Liverpool, each consisting of two pages.

At some time subsequent to 19 October the trains on this

MANCHESTER TO PRESTON.		Mixed T. 0 a.m.	1st Class 11 15 a.m.	Mixed T. 3 45 p.m.	Mixed T. 5 p.m.	1st Class 47 15 p.m.	First Class.	Second Class.	A Mixed Train will start from W running to Parkside to me
GOLBOURNE GATE.....							3. 0	3. 0	
WIGAN.....							4. 0	3. 0	
STANDISH LANE							5. 0	4. 0	
COFFUL							6. 0	4. 0	
EUXTON LODGE							7. 0	5. 0	
LEYLAND.....							7. 0	5. 0	
FARRINGTON LODGE							7. 0	5. 0	
PRESTON							7. 0	5. 0	

† Passengers by the last mentioned at the above Trains going to Preston, will have to wait at Parkside till the arrival of the Grand Junction 5 o'clock Train from Birmingham.
 ON SUNDAYS the Morning Train will leave Preston at 6 45, Liverpool at 7 0, Manchester at 7 0
 The 1st Evening Train will leave Preston at 6 15, Liverpool at 5 30, Manchester at 5 30
 The 2d do. do. will leave Preston at 6 27, Liverpool at 7 15, Manchester at 7 15
From Preston to London. FARES.
 In the same Carriage at *9 45 A.M. 54s. 6d
 Ditto Ditto at 6 27 P.M. 57 0
 Changing Carriages at *2 57 A.M. 54 6
 Trains marked * will take private Carriages, &c.
From London to Preston. FARES.
 In the same Carriage at 9 30 A.M. 54s. 6d
 Ditto Ditto at 8 30 P.M. 57 0
 Changing Carriages at *8 45 A.M. 54 6
 Ditto Ditto *at 11 0 A.M. 54 6

Fig. 7. 19th October, 1839, Second issue.

route were altered. In the first two issues of that date and in some of the third issue also the former Table is as following :

line 2 : First Class, 7, 8½, 10, 2, 4½, 7½ ;

line 4 : Second, 7½, 10 . . . ;

and consequent alterations throughout.

In some copies of the third issue of 19 October and in the first issue of 25 October, line 2 reads :

First Class : 8½, 10, 2, 4½, 7½ . . . ; and line 4 reads :

Second : 7, 10 . . . ;

the '7' (a.m.) in the second line and the '½' in the fourth

line of the earlier issues being erased by a knife as are also the consequent alterations.

MANCHESTER • TO BOLTON.		Not Stopping. 7 o'clock, a.m.	Stopping at Stations. 8 o'clock, a.m.	9 o'clock, a.m.	Stopping at Stations. 10 o'clock, a.m.
STATIONS.					
Miles	FROM MANCHESTER TO PENDLETON BRIDGE..				
	DIXON FOLD.....				
	STONECLOUGH.....				
	MOSES GATE.....				
	10 BOLTON				
	FROM BOLTON. TO MOSES GATE.....				
	STONECLOUGH.....				
	DIXON FOLD.....				
	PENDLETON BRIDGE..				
	10 MANCHESTER				

SUNDAY TRAINS.—From Manchester, First Train Eight o'clock p.m. stopping at the Stations.

From Bolton, First Train Nine o'clock, a.m. stopping at the Stations.

The Doors of the Booking Office will be closed precisely at the time of departure. There will be no Booking Place, except at the Company's Station. Children under Seven years of age half price.

Each Passenger's Luggage will be placed on the roof of the Carriage. Luggage may be placed under the seat. No charge for Luggage charge will be made of one halfpenny per pound for the whole distance.

The attention of Travellers is requested to the Legal Notice of the Company's Liabilities to the Loss or Damage of Luggage.—No St. for Parcels will be regulated by weight and size.—Dogs 6d. each.

Every Train is provided with a Guard, who is responsible for the Company's Porters will load and unload the Luggage, or Stations. No fees or gratuities allowed to conductors, guards, or porters.

Passengers may be booked at the Company's Station, New Bolton.

Fig. 8. 19th October, 1839, First and Second issues.

In the second issue of 25 October the 10 o'clock First Class in line 2 is altered by ink to 11, the 7.15 a.m. Liverpool to St. Helens (at foot of leaf) altered to 7 and the 7.15 a.m. Liverpool to Runcorn Gap on the same leaf altered to 7 by erasure with a knife.

Almost the same alterations take place on the Manchester to Liverpool tables, pp. 21-2.

MANCHESTER TO BOLTON.		Not Stopping, 7 o'clock, a.m.	Stopping at Stations, 8 o'clock, a.m.	9 o'clock, a.m.	Stopping at Stations, 10 o'clock, a.m.
STATIONS.					
Miles	FROM MANCHESTER				
	To PENDLETON BRIDGE..	..	..	..	..
	DIXON FOLD .....	..	..	..	..
	STONECLOUGH .....	..	..	..	..
	MOSES GATE .....	..	..	..	..
10	BOLTON .....	..	..	..	..
	FROM BOLTON.				
	To MOSES GATE .....	..	..	..	..
	STONECLOUGH .....	..	..	..	..
	DIXON FOLD .....	..	..	..	..
	PENDLETON BRIDGE..	..	..	..	..
10	MANCHESTER .....	..	..	..	..
<p>SUNDAY TRAINS.—From Manchester, First Train Eight o'clock P.M. stopping at the Stations.—Children under Seven years of age From Bolton, First Train Nine A.M. stopping at the Stations Passengers may be booked at the Company's Station, New Ba</p>					
BOLTON AND LI					
To Liverpool an					
Quarter past Seven Second Class Train					
Twenty minutes before Nine First ditto					
Ten minutes before Eleven.. First ditto					
To Wigan and Preston —Quarter past 7; Twenty minus					
To St. Helens , by all the Second Class Trains					
ON SUNDAYS, TO ALL THE ABOVE NAMED PLACES.—Quar					
Fares —First Class—To Liverpool 6s. 6d., Manchester 2s. 6d					
SECOND CLASS—Liverpool 4s., Manchester, 2s., Preston 4s., Wi					

Fig. 9. 19th October, 1839, Third issue.

All the issues of 19 October, pp. 21-2, Manchester to Liverpool read :

line 2 : First Class, 7, 9, 11½, A.M. ; 2, 5, 7½ P.M.* ;

line 4 : Second, 7½, 10, 11½ A.M.† ; 2½, 5½, 7½ P.M.*

In the first issue of 25 October, the 7 (a.m.) is deleted in

line 2, and the 7½ in line 4 is altered to 7 by erasing the ½. Consequent alterations are also made by erasure with a knife. In the second issue of 25 October further alterations are found on the same leaf. The first trains from Manchester to St. Helens, and Manchester to Runcorn Gap, which had hitherto started at 7.30, being altered to 7, in both cases by erasing the 30.

In the third issue of 25 October the four pages, 21-4, are contracted into two pages, 'Liverpool to Manchester,' 'Manchester to Liverpool,' in parallel columns, with precisely the same service as the second issue. In one copy of the third issue of this 25 October Time Table I have found two pages of the London and South Western (late Southampton) and other Tables which otherwise appear for the first time in Bradshaw's Railway Companion of 25 February 1840, thus showing how these early issues were kept up to date.

THE THIRD TIME TABLE

On the same date as No. 2 Time Table was issued, 25 October 1839, there appeared an amalgamated edition of the two before-mentioned works, bearing exactly the same title as the latter with the exception of the seventh line from the bottom being 'PRICE ONE SHILLING' instead of sixpence, and '(No. 3)' being in the right-hand corner instead of '(No. 2)'. *En passant* I may remark that these numbers (No. 2) and (No. 3) in the corners have hitherto been an unsolved riddle to writers, but the solution is now, I think, obvious. They were used to differentiate between the Tables of the Northern Railways published without a number on 19 October, but which I call 'No. 1', the Tables of the Southern Railways published on 25 October with the number '(No. 2)' on the title, and the combination of both Northern and Southern Tables with the number '(No. 3)' on the title. Before going into details of the contents I must

draw attention to the paper label on the cover which gives the intitution 'Bradshaw's Railway Companion Price 1s.' These words were eventually adopted on the title of the edition of the Combined Tables '(No. 3)' published on 1 January 1840.

The copies I have seen contain, with certain modifications, practically the same contents as Nos. 1 and 2 with the addition of a folding map of the Railways in England and Wales, with the railways 'open or in progress' marked in different colours. Each line is numbered, but no explanation of the numbers is given.

The tables for Liverpool to Manchester are curiously in an intermediate state between states 1 and 2 of No. 2, for line 2 reads: 'First Class, 8½ . . .'; line 4, 'Second, 7 . . .' (erasures with a knife), but the alterations in the service 'Liverpool to St. Helens' and 'Liverpool to Runcorn Gap' have not been made. The return tables 'Manchester to Liverpool' are also in a similar intermediate state.

Collation of No. 3, 25 October 1839.

- P. 1. Title.
2. Address.
- 3-4. Map of railway, Birmingham to Fenny Stratford.
- 5-6. Ditto, Fenny Stratford to London and Cambridge to London.
- 7-8. London to Birmingham (time table).
- 9-10. Birmingham to London (time table).
- 11-12. G.W.R. London to Twyford (time table).
- 13-14. Map of the G. Junction and Manchester and Birmingham Railways.
- 15-16. Hackney coach fares from Euston Station, London. . .
- 17-18. Birmingham (plan of).
- 19-20. Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester (time table).
- 21-2. Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham (time table).
- 23-4. Map¹ of the Railways in Lancashire.
- 25-6. Liverpool to Manchester (time table).

¹ The facsimile reprint in which the maps were printed from the original plates has (probably in error) Plate A. Two original copies I have seen have Plate B.

P. 27-8. Liverpool (plan of).

29-30. Hackney coach fares from Lime Street Station, Liverpool.

31-2. Manchester to Liverpool . . . (time table).

33-4. Manchester (plan of).

35-6. Newcastle to Carlisle (time table).

37-8. Leeds (plan of).

39. Time tables: Birmingham and Derby; Manchester and Leeds; Manchester, Bolton and Bury; North Union Railway; Nottingham and Derby; Sheffield and Rotherham.

40. Thompson's table; G.W.R. London and Twyford (time table).

A new edition of (No. 3) was published on 11th Mo. 18th, 1839, in which the L.M. & B., and the L. & M. and M. & L. tables are reprinted in the later form. In this edition the penultimate leaf consists of the 'names of the Railways in England, as numbered in the Map', thus accounting for the numbers which marked the lines. It contains 42 pages. Another edition of (No. 3) was published with the date 12th Mo. 14th, 1839. It contains 42 pages.

The (No. 2) sixpenny time tables were continued for a short time. I have note of a copy of (No. 2) dated '1st Mo. 1st 1840', being in the possession of Major Norris of Chacombe House, Banbury (cf. *Athenaeum*, 19 January 1889), and I have another edition of (No. 2) dated '2nd Mo. 22nd, 1840', containing pp. 26. The title of the latter is similar to that of the first edition of 25 October, except that the address of Shepherd and Sutton is Priest-Court, Foster-Lane, Cheapside, and the date 2nd Mo. 22nd, 1840. The address on p. 2 is the same in the edition of the Companion, dated 1st Mo. 25, 1840. The Map of Railways in Lancashire is printed from Plate A.

I would suggest that this is the last edition published of (No. 2), as in the issue of (No. 3), dated 2 Mo. 25th, 1840, the (No. 3) on the title is dropped and so far as I can trace was never reintroduced.

I have not yet been able to trace any later edition of (No. 1) than that of 19 October 1839, but one may exist.

On 1 January 1840 a new edition of (No. 3) was published, but the title was entirely altered and the word 'Companion', which appeared on the label of the first edition of (No. 3), was instated for the first time on the title-page. It reads thus :
BRADSHAW'S | Railway Companion, | CONTAINING | THE
TIMES OF DEPARTURE, | FARES, &c., | OF THE RAIL-
WAYS IN ENGLAND, | AND ALSO | Hackney Coach Fares |
FROM THE PRINCIPAL RAILWAY STATIONS, | illustrated with | . . .

In the Address on p. 2 the second paragraph is altered as follows : 'A new edition of this work is published every 'three months, with such alterations as have taken place in 'the interval.' A new paragraph of seven lines is added :

'To Railway Companies. | G. BRADSHAW would feel
 'particularly obliged by an intimation being forwarded to
 'him at 27, Brown-street, Manchester, of any change in
 'Fares or Times of Departure, on any of the Lines, in order
 'that the correction may be immediately made in the work.'

In this edition and for a short period subsequently the folding map of railways of England and Wales was replaced by a folding plan of London printed on glazed paper. The former was now sold separately at 6d.

Another edition of (No. 3) appeared on 1st Mo. 25th, 1840, in which the Address was again altered by the deletion of the second paragraph commencing 'A new edition . . .'

LATER HISTORY

The Companion had now assumed a fairly permanent form, and although ostensibly it was published only every three months it appeared during 1840 with the dates Jan. 1, Jan. 25, Feb. 25, March 2, March 20, April 1. The subsequent issues, of which I have no less than six different editions (others may also exist), do not bear the names of the months and can only be identified by internal evidence which I have

attempted to specify. They show the gradual growth of the railways, especially of the Great Western Railway, first to Twyford, then to Reading, then to Steventon, then to Faringdon Road.

1st Mo. 1st, 1840. Imprint : LONDON : | CHARLES TILT, FLEET-STREET ; | AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS AND RAILWAY COMPANIES. Map of London and pp. 48.

The following are some points of difference :

- pp. 13-14. G.W.R. London to Twyford, train at 8.30 p.m. ; Twyford to London, train at 8 p.m.
- pp. 23-4. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway. The trains leave Derby at 8, 11.30, 2.15, 4.15, 9. Below the table and above the London and Croydon Railway are two paragraphs occupying 5 lines.
- pp. 33-4. Manchester to Bolton.
- p. 43. London and South Western (late Southampton) has the further headings York, Leeds, and Selby ; Manchester and Leeds ; Manchester, Bolton, and Bury.
- p. 44. North Union Railway has three headings in Clarendon type.
- pp. 45-6. Newcastle to Carlisle. Below the table is a cross page section, 'Coach Routes from Carlisle.'
- p. 47. Names of Railways in England, as numbered on the Map.
- p. 48. Table showing the Rate of Travelling per Hour.

Another issue with the imprint : . . . SHEPHERD AND SUTTON, FOSTER LANE, CHEAPSIDE . . . quoted by C. Madeley of Warrington in *Athenaeum*, Feb. 4, 1888.

1st Mo. 25th, 1840. Imprint : . . . | CHARLES TILT, FLEET-STREET : | . . . Map of London and pp. 46.

- pp. 13-14. London to Twyford, 8.30 p.m. train altered to 8.55 p.m. Twyford to London, 3.45 a.m. train added ; 8 p.m. train deleted.
- pp. 23-4. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway. Below the two paragraphs are inserted three lines detailing Fares, Derby to London and Derby to Birmingham, in which there is the first mention of a third class fare (Derby to Birmingham, 5s.).
- pp. 33-4. Manchester to Bolton deleted ; transferred to pp. 42-3.
- p. 41. London and South Western (late Southampton), as p. 43 in 1 January issue except 'Manchester and Leeds' is replaced by 'Bolton and Leigh'.
- p. 42, as p. 44, has six headings in Clarendon type instead of three.

pp. 43-4. Newcastle to Carlisle. Below the table are Nottingham and Derby ; Sheffield and Rotherham tables (transferred from p. 44 of 1 January issue).

2nd Mo. 25th, 1840. Imprint : LONDON : | SHEPHERD & SUTTON, PRIEST COURT, FOSTER LANE, | CHEAPSIDE ; | AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS AND RAILWAY | COMPANIES. | 2nd Mo. 25th, 1840. Map of London and pp. 48.

(No. 3) on title is discontinued. Except for this it appears to be similar to previous issue except that it contains a 2-page map of the Manchester and Leeds, North Midland . . . Railways.

3rd Mo. 2nd, 1840. Imprint : . . . | SHEPHERD & SUTTON | . . . (as before).

No apparent difference

3rd Mo. 20th, 1840. Imprint : as above.

No apparent difference.

4th Mo. 1st, 1840. Imprint : LONDON : | JOHN M. KNOTT, 5 BRIDE-COURT ; | AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS AND RAILWAY | COMPANIES. Map of London, Chart of Gradients, and pp. 50.

pp. 13-14. G.W.R. is extended from Twyford to Reading, and entirely recast. pp. 23-4. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway. The trains leave Derby at 8, 11.30, 2.15, 4.15, 8.25.

pp. 41-2. Contains tables of Leeds, York, and Selby ; Stockton and Darlington ; Arbroath to Forfar, . . . This is the first mention of a Scottish Railway.

p. 47. London and South Western (late Southampton), as in 25 January and subsequent issues but recast and 'York, Leeds, and Selby' replaced by 'Paisley and Renfrew Railway'. The three lower headings on the page are in Clarendon small caps. instead of Clarendon lower case.

Between pp. 47 and 48 is a folding chart of the Gradients on the L. & B.R. and the G.J.R.

pp. 49-50 consist of an Almanack for 1840 (engraved by G. Bradshaw), in place of pp. 47-8 of 1 January and subsequent issues.

Another issue with imprint : LIVERPOOL : | HENRY LACY, BOLD STREET ; | . . .

Another issue with imprint : DERBY : | HENRY MOZLEY AND SONS ; | . . .

E. Baker in his Supplement to the Railway Handbook cites an issue of 7th Mo. 1st, 1840, which I have not seen.

EDITIONS PRINTED 1840 WITHOUT MONTH DATES

A. Imprint : MANCHESTER : | PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY BRADSHAW AND BLACKLOCK, | 27, BROWN-STREET ; AND SOLD BY | SHEPHERD AND SUTTON, PRIEST COURT, FOSTER-LANE, | CHEAPSIDE, LONDON ; | AND ALL BOOKSELLERS AND RAILWAY COMPANIES. | 1840. Map of London, Map of Railways in England and Wales, Chart of Gradients, and pp. 60.

- pp. 3-4. London to Birmingham, reset to include trains at noon and 3 p.m. ; other alterations in times. First mention of Aylesbury.
- pp. 5-6. Birmingham to London, reset to include trains from Aylesbury at 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.
- pp. 13-14. Great Western Railway. London to Steventon and Steventon to London, reset to include 17 trains (+ 2 Goods) instead of 15. For the first time are found three columns of Fares, 1st class, 2nd class, and Goods. The down goods trains started at 4 a.m. and 9 p.m. and they did not stop at all the stations.
- pp. 15-16. Map of L. & S.W.R. to Southampton and L.B.R. Croydon to Brighton (new).
- pp. 17-18. London and South Western Railway (new).
- pp. 19-20. Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester. The note at bottom consists of 5 lines (instead of 4) ; a line 'FARE, in Third Class open Carriages at 6 a.m., 11s.' being interpolated after the first line.
- pp. 21-2. A similar line interpolated, making the note 6 lines instead of 5.
- pp. 27-8. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway. The line now starts at Sheffield (instead of Derby) ; trains leave Derby, 8, 11.45, 2.30, 4.30, 8.30. Birmingham and Gloucester (table) inserted above London and Croydon.
- pp. 37-8. Map of Manchester, a newly engraved map which is much clearer and without border.
- pp. 41-2. Manchester and Leeds Railway. M. to Littleborough. Note at bottom only 2 lines (instead of 4).
- pp. 45-6. Leeds, York, and Selby. Newcastle and North Shields added below Arbroath and Forfar.
- pp. 49-50. Midland Counties Railway and North Midland Railway (new). Table headed 'Between London, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Sheffield, Leeds, York, and Hull.'
- pp. 51-2. Map Sheffield to Leicester (new).

- p. 53 (former p. 47) is now headed Manchester and Birmingham Railway and contains also Paisley and Renfrew; Bolton and Leigh; Manchester, Bolton, and Bury.
- pp. 55-6 (former pp. 45-6). Newcastle to Carlisle. 'Hull and Selby or Hull and Leeds Junction' (5 lines) inserted after Sheffield and Rotherham.
- p. 57. Lancashire and Preston Junction. Folding map, 'Railways in England and Wales.'
- p. 58. Names of Railways in England as numbered in the Map. Although this leaf is in the earliest issues of the year, the map appears there for the first time. It was also sold separately.
- pp. 59-60. Almanack for 1840. Paged irregularly in left-hand corners 1-28.

B. Imprint : MANCHESTER : | PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY
BRADSHAW & BLACKLOCK | 27, BROWN STREET; AND SOLD BY |
CHARLES TILT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON, | AND ALL BOOKSELLERS
AND RAILWAY COMPANIES. | 1840. | Map of London, Map of
Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients and pp. 62.

- pp. 3-4. London to Birmingham, new train 9.30 a.m.
- pp. 5-6. Birmingham to London, new train from Rugby 3.30 p.m.
- pp. 13-14. G.W.R. extended to Faringdon Road. Last column has 20 fares by goods train instead of 14.
- pp. 17-18. L. & S.W.R., Vauxhall (London) to Southampton. Entire service altered, *i.e.* 8 a.m., 9 a.m., 10 a.m., now running 7 a.m., 9 a.m., 9.30 a.m.
- pp. 27-8. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway, Derby and Birmingham to London. All reference to Sheffield omitted. Trains leave Derby at 8, 10.40, 12, 2.15, 4.40, 8.25. Birmingham and Gloucester para. omitted.
- pp. 31-2 (new). Birmingham and Gloucester, with 13 lines of notes below table.
- pp. 47-8 (old 45-6) recast. Contains Leeds and Selby, York and North Midland, Stockton and Darlington, Sheffield and Rotherham, Newcastle and North Shields, Glasgow and Paisley, Paisley and Renfrew, Arbroath and Forfar.
- pp. 51-2. Midland Counties Railway. Table headed 'Between London, Leicester, Nottingham and Derby'. Two tables of Fares on p. 52 (instead of one).
- pp. 55-6. Manchester and Birmingham Railway. Section 'Paisley and Renfrew Railway' replaced by 'Preston and Wyre Railway'.

C. (ante 11 August 1840). Imprint : MANCHESTER : |
... SOLD BY | SHEPHERD & SUTTON, PRIEST COURT, FOSTER-LANE, |

CHEAPSIDE, LONDON; | . . . Map of London, Map of Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients and pp. 62.

pp. 57-8. Newcastle to Carlisle. 'Sheffield and Rotherham' omitted; 'Hull and Selby . . .' enlarged. Trains from Nottingham (p. 57) 7, 10½, 1½, 3 and 7½ as in B and A.

A pencil note on the map of London states that it was bought at York Railway office, York, August 11, 1840, H. W. James Gent.

D. (ante 23 August). Imprint: MANCHESTER | . . . SOLD BY | CHARLES TILT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON, | . . . Map of London, Map of Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients, and pp. 62.

pp. 31-2. Birmingham and Gloucester. Eleven lines of notes are omitted and tables of 'Newcastle and North Shields' and 'Glasgow and Ayr' inserted.

pp. 33-4. Liverpool and Manchester Railway. In first col. 5 p.m. (Sunday) altered to 4.45; second col. 10 a.m. altered to 9.45.

pp. 35-6. Re-engraved 'Plan of Liverpool' instead of old plate with border, in some copies.

pp. 41-2. Manchester Hackney Coach and Cab Fares runs horizontally instead of perpendicularly.

pp. 47-8 recast. Midland Counties Railway inserted at top, and all *after* Sheffield and Rotherham omitted.

pp. 51-2. 'Midland Counties Railway' omitted—only North Midland Railway tables set from top to bottom of page.

pp. 57-8. Newcastle to Carlisle. 'Hull and Selby . . .' altered to 'Leeds, Selby, and Hull Railway'. Note 'After the 23rd August the First Morning Train. . .'. At first glance this page seems to be earlier than that in C, but that it is not so is shown by the alterations on p. 57 of the trains from Nottingham which are now: 8½, 10, 2½, 5½, and 7½.

E. Imprint: MANCHESTER: | . . . SOLD BY | DARTON AND CLARKE, HOLBORN, LONDON: | . . . Map of London, Map of Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients and pp. 68. Blank leaves for notes appear for the first time at the end.

pp. 3-4. London to Birmingham. New trains 7 a.m. (third class) and 9 p.m.

pp. 5-6. Birmingham to London. New train 2 p.m. (third class); 6 a.m. altered to 7 a.m. First mention of third class trains on this route, fare 14s.

pp. 14-15. Great Western Railway, London to Faringdon Road. Recast,

with the times of departure from intermediate stations for the first time. Omissions from table: trains at $3\frac{1}{2}$ a.m. (for p.m.), $5\frac{1}{2}$ p.m., and the two 'goods' at 4 a.m. and 9 p.m.

- pp. 16-17. Do., Faringdon Road to London (in earlier issues this formed part of the previous page); Bristol and Bath.
- pp. 19-20. L. & S.W.R., Vauxhall (London) to Southampton, trains altered to 8, 9.30, 11. . . .
- pp. 21-2. Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester. Recast, 6 columns of Fares instead of 3, 6 lines of note instead of 5. Chester included in table.
- pp. 23-4. Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham. Similar alterations as on p. 11. Note 4 lines instead of 6.
- pp. 33-4. Birmingham and Gloucester. Newcastle and North Shields, Glasgow and Ayr, are replaced by 14 lines of notes. The 'Coach' times (first line of table) are altered from 6, 9, 12, 2, 5, to 6.30, 9, 12.30, 3, 6; various other alterations.
- pp. 45-6. Manchester and Leeds Railway. Reset; reads from bottom to top instead of from left to right.
- pp. 49-50. Midland Counties Railway. Between London and Hull and Hull and London (new).
- pp. 51-2 (formerly 47-8). Midland Counties Railway replaced by Nottingham and Derby; Leeds and Selby omitted.
- pp. 55-6. North Midland Railway. Table reset longitudinally instead of laterally; four Sunday trains up and down (instead of three); 9-line note at left of table, including fares.
- pp. 62-3. Northern and Eastern Railway. Also Newcastle and North Shields; Chester and Crew (*sic*); Chester and Birkenhead (new).
- pp. 63-4. Newcastle to Carlisle. Below the table on the left, 'Nottingham and Derby' replaced by 'Leeds and Selby' (4 lines only); on right 'Leeds, Selby and Hull Railway' 9 lines (instead of 12).

Some maps and pages are numbered but very irregularly.

F. Imprint: MANCHESTER: | . . . SOLD BY | CHARLES TILT, FLEET-STREET, LONDON; | . . . Map of London, Map of Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients and pp. 70.

- pp. 21-2. Hackney Coach and Cab Fares . . . from Nine Elms, followed by tables for 'Glasgow and Ayr', 'Paisley and Renfrew', 'Arbroath and Forfar' Railways.
- pp. 61-2. N. & E.R. 'Crew' corrected to 'Crewe'.
- pp. 63-4. Newcastle to Carlisle. Space below the table now occupied by 5 columns headed Leeds, York, Hull, and Selby.

pp. 65-6. Lancaster and Preston Junction. Line 10 reads 'On Sundays—From Lancaster . . .'; line 11 reads '7 a.m. mail and . . .'; these two lines being interpolated between lines 9 and 10 of E issue.

G. Imprint, same as F. Map of London, Map of Railways in E. and W., Chart of Gradients and pp. 70.

pp. 31-2. Birmingham and Derby Junction Railway. The 12 p.m. (for noon) from Derby altered to 11.45 p.m. (for a.m.). Six-line note below table reduced to 4 lines. London and Croydon Railway occupies 10 lines instead of 9.

pp. 49-50. Midland Counties Railway. First line of table, col. 7, 9 p.m. train altered to 8.30 p.m. Addition to end of 2-line note: **From these places 3rd class carriages will be attached.*

pp. 51-2. Nottingham and Derby. York and Derby occupies only 6 lines instead of 7; the York to Wakefield . . . trains being 6.30 mail, 8.45, 11.30 a.m. and 4, and 6 mail p.m. (instead of 7, 9 a.m., 12, 4, and 6 mail p.m.).

pp. 55-6. North Midland Railway. Five Sunday trains, up and down (instead of 4); 4-line note at left of table.

pp. 59-60. Manchester and Birmingham Railway. Line 19, Preston to Fleetwood trains altered from 'At 7.45 and 11½ morning; and 5.30 afternoon' to 'At 11½ morning, and 5½ afternoon'.

E. Baker cites an issue of 1840 (without month) with the G.W.R. terminus at Wootton Bassett.

With the year 1841 there arise so many complications in the issues that it would be extremely difficult to differentiate them or to place them in an accurate sequence. In the first place none of the issues bear any mention of a month and in the second place, towards the middle of the year purchasers were invited to correct the tables themselves by substituting pages from the 3d. sheet time tables.

We have already seen that during the summer of 1840 the mention of the month on the title had been dropped, doubtless with the idea that old stock could be kept up to date by periodically substituting obsolete tables by current ones. That this was done by the publishers or by their local agents is obvious by the variations I have detailed above.

But in 1841 the variations are so many that it would be extremely difficult to tabulate them, and towards the middle of the year the public were invited to create further variations, for the 'Notice to the Public' on p. 2 was entirely altered to the following :

'The Time Tables forming this little work are arranged 'as a Sheet, and published, with the assistance of the Railway 'Companies, on the 1st of every month, price 3*d*. Parties 'desirous of keeping the Companion correct may be enabled 'to do so, by purchasing one of those Sheets and substituting 'the Tables, in which alterations are made, for those in the 'work.

'The names of such Tables as have undergone a change 'will be mentioned at the foot of the sheet.'

The complete bibliographer, should he attempt to describe all the minute variations which now arise and try to discriminate between issues and individual variations, would be faced with a task for which I should not have the courage. I do not think that the results would be worth the time expended.

Towards the end of 1840 an attempt to folio the leaves was made, but it was a very irregular foliation, some leaves not being numbered at all. In 1841 the practice was continued, but the result was equally unsatisfactory ; at first, some of the numbers (those mentioned *post* on the 3*d*. Sheet Table) were permanent, and the others were added by a hand stamp. The stampers were, however, human, and while some paged and others folioed the leaves and maps regularly, others stamped leaves and not the maps, and in some cases numbered odd pages as well. The result is chaos. Leaves numbered, pages numbered, maps numbered or unnumbered or with obsolete numbers, new leaves with duplicate numbers, jumbled up together, defy any real classification except by recording the *minutiae* of each separate leaf.

I will now draw your attention to the Sheet Time Table mentioned in the new 'Notice'. The publication of the 3*d.* Monthly Sheet Time Table was a pure corollary. From October 1839 the tables for the Companion had undoubtedly been printed in sheet form and cut up for binding. When they were first sold in sheet form I do not know, but I have one dated April 1841¹ with the imprint: 'BRADSHAW AND BLACKLOCK, PRINTERS, 27 BROWN-STREET, (TWO DOORS FROM KING-STREET), MANCHESTER. Published by TILT and BOGNE, FLEET-STREET, LONDON.' There are, however, no changes mentioned at the foot, as promised in the revised 'Notice', so the latter is probably later than April 1841. Only six of the tables are folioed as follows:

2. London to Birmingham;
3. Birmingham to London;
13. Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham;
14. Birmingham to Liverpool and Manchester;
35. Manchester to Stockport;
38. Newcastle to Carlisle;

and these are the same as in the standard form of the 1841 Companion.

At the end of the year 1841 Bradshaw determined to issue his Time Tables in a new form at sixpence monthly under the title 'Bradshaw's Monthly Railway Guide', and it is this form that is perpetuated to the present day.

We have therefore from December 1841 three concurrent Bradshaw's Time Tables, viz. the 3*d.* sheet, the 6*d.* Monthly Guide, and the 1*s.* Companion. The 'formes' of all the Tables were the same but differently assembled in the three different publications: (1) in a sheet printed on one side, sold at 3*d.*; (2) folded (with the addition of a new title and preliminary leaves, '. . . Monthly Railway Guide . . .' &c., and a wrapper) and sewn as a square 16mo. sold at 6*d.*; (3)

¹ There is one in the B.M. dated Sept. 1, 1842.

with a different title and the addition of copperplate maps, plans of cities, cab-fares, &c., bound in cloth as a 32mo, and sold at 1s. as the Companion. The first was printed on one side only; the third, like the previous Companions, was printed on one side only (but on very much thinner paper¹) and, like them also, the sheets having been cut up, the various tables were pasted back to back; for the second the formes were reimposed, the sheet printed on both sides, so that each page should contain two pages of the 'Companion', the title and preliminary leaves being re-composed.

The result of these three collateral publications may easily be forecast. The enormous increase in the number of railways quickly rendered the sheet form inadequate. The 'Companion' gradually became a luxury as its only advantages over the 6d. Monthly Railway Guide were its cloth binding, its portability, and the addition of the maps and the plans of the principal cities which really are too microscopic to be of any real use. So one cannot wonder at the fact that the 6d. Guide gradually superseded its two competitors. The advertisements which subsequently became a great source of profit must also have influenced the sale of the monthly issue in preference to the quarterly issue.

The doom of the Companion was now inevitable, but it continued in a moribund condition until about 1847 or 1848, when it finally disappeared. It is not worth while to follow its devious course after the publication of the first number of the Monthly Guide, for its appearance was spasmodic and its contents too irregular to attempt to classify them.

THE (MONTHLY) RAILWAY GUIDE

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the only existing copy of the first number of the Monthly Guide is that in the Bodleian Library, the title of which is shown in Fig. 10.

¹ The paper, which is marvellously thin, had started improving towards the middle of 1840.

I have a very long series in mint condition with the wrappers extending from the third number which was issued in February 1842, and I am sure that knowing the adult publica-

BRADSHAW'S

RAILWAY GUIDE;

CONTAINING


A CORRECT ACCOUNT OF THE HOURS OF ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE
OF THE TRAINS ON EVERY RAILWAY IN GREAT BRITAIN;

A MAP OF ENGLAND,

WITH THE RAILWAYS COMPLETED AND IN PROGRESS,

HACKNEY COACH FARES, &c.

FOR DECEMBER, 18



MANCHESTER:

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY BRADSHAW & BLACKLOCK, 27, BROWN-ST.
AND SOLD BY

W. J. ADAMS, 170, FLEET STREET, LONDON,

AND MAY BE HAD THROUGH ALL BOOKSELLERS AND NEWSMEN.

Fig. 10. Reduced.

tion it will be difficult to recognize the infant. There is a certain family likeness, but I am confident that the progenitor of the baby never expected it to grow to its present big proportions. There are no wrappers to the first issues

which are in the Bodleian, but there is no doubt that for a long time they were issued in a pale yellow cover. The wrappers are important, as for some years the serial number and the date of issue were only shown on them, and without them the editions can only be dated from internal evidence. The most striking difference between the Companion and the Guide arises from the fact that, as it was intended to be a monthly publication the necessity for bringing copies up to date by the insertion of corrected tables did not arise. Consequently instead of the leaves being pasted back to back they were printed on both sides as in an ordinary book. There is a curious error in the April issue of 1845 which is incorrectly numbered 141 instead of 40, and this error affects the numbering to the present day.

But Bradshaw was still full of energy, or it may be that he was stimulated to further enterprise by his association with W. J. Adams, 170 Fleet Street, London, whose name appears on the first number of the Monthly Railway Guide. Adams was a publisher of guide books and a recognized purveyor of passports. In any case, whether it was due to Adams's enterprise or Bradshaw's energy, with the seventh number, issued in June 1842, the work took a more ambitious and embracing title as follows: 'Bradshaw's Monthly General Railway and Steam Navigation Guide for Great Britain and Ireland, . . .' the full title under which it is still issued. Advertisements appeared and eventually became a very large source of income—in fact at the present day I doubt very much if the work could be published even at the price of 2s. per copy were it not for the revenue accruing from advertisements.

I have recently met with a long series of an abridged edition of the Monthly Guide published at threepence, but unfortunately I can give you very little information about it, and I do not know when the first number was issued. The title on the wrapper of the earliest number I have is:

. . . No. 176. 9th Mo. (SEPTEMBER.) 1848. | By Official
and Special Authority. | Price 3d. | BRADSHAW'S |
BRITISH | RAILWAY GUIDE, | AND | TRAVELLER'S
DIRECTORY, | FOR | ENGLAND, WALES, IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

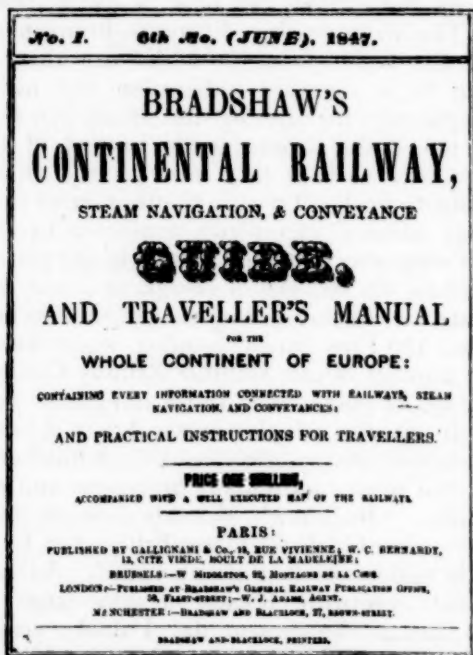


Fig. 11. Reduced.

| . . . HEAD OFFICES OF PUBLICATION : LONDON : | W. J. ADAMS,
59 FLEET STREET ; | . . .

The serial number is due to an error, for if correct its initial number would have been somewhere in 1833, which is impossible; it probably has some relation to the 6d.

Monthly Guide, the March 1848 issue of which is numbered 176. In any case no library or private person, so far as I can ascertain, ever thought of filing or binding it up, and I do not know of any other series apart from mine.

It is not necessary for me to trace the further development of our familiar Guide, which not only grew in bulk as the railway system of Great Britain gradually enmeshed the whole of the Kingdom, but was continually being improved by the enterprise of the originator.

New county or district maps appeared in each issue. Quotations of the Railway Share Market, Tourist Routes on the Continent, Lists of London Amusements, and various other information was added and continued for many years until they overflowed into other publications.

The first of these 'overflow publications' was Bradshaw's Continental Railway Steam Navigation and Conveyance Guide and Travellers' Manual for the whole Continent of Europe . . . and practical instructions for Travellers. The first number was issued in June 1847 (see fig. 11), and although ostensibly published in Paris by Gallignani & Co. (*sic*) it was undoubtedly printed in England. This work, as we know, is continued to the present time.

In 1862 (see fig. 12) there appeared the first number of 'Bradshaw's London Railway Guide' . . . showing the departure and arrival of trains between London and the various 'towns. . .'. This venture, however, was belated, as the 'A.B.C. or Alphabetical Railway Guide: showing at a glance 'how and when you can go from London to the different 'stations in Great Britain and return,' first appeared in October 1853, and the London Bradshaw was never successful in overtaking the popularity of the A.B.C. Only nine monthly numbers appear to have been published. It was revived under the same title in December 1867, but it met with similar unsuccess, and in September 1868 it was transformed into the

'London and Provincial Bradshaw', which had a lingering existence until 1887.

Another 'overflow publication' was the 'General Railway Directory, Shareholders' Guide, Manual and Almanack',

THE LONDON BRADSHAW.

No. 1.	DECEMBER, 1867.	Price 4d.
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OFFICIALLY  EVERY MONTH.

BRADSHAW'S
(THROUGH ROUTE)

LONDON RAILWAY GUIDE

Commercial Companion and Advertiser,
ARRANGED ON A NEW AND CONVENIENT PRINCIPLE,
SHOWING THE ADAPTATION OF NOTE
ALPHABETICAL AND TABULAR ARRANGEMENT,
SHOWING THE TIMES OF
DEPARTURE and ARRIVAL OF TRAINS BETWEEN
LONDON and the VARIOUS TOWNS,
ALSO THE
STEAMERS FROM LONDON AND SOUTHAMPTON,
CAB FARES, OMNIBUS ROUTES,
PUBLIC BUILDINGS, EXHIBITIONS, PLACES OF AMUSEMENT, INSTITUTIONS, &c., IN
LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS, WITH PRICES OF ADMISSION.

Illustrated with a New Steel Engraved
MAP OF THE ENVIRONS OF THE METROPOLIS.
Twenty-five miles round, showing all the Railways, &c., and a New
RAILWAY STATION MAP of LONDON and SUBURBS.

LONDON.—W. J. ADAMS, 56, FLEET STREET, E.C.;
MANCHESTER.—BRADSHAW AND BLACKLOCK, ALBERT SQUARE, CROSS STREET.
And sold by all Booksellers, and at all Railway Stations.

Printed by Bradshaw & Blacklock, at their London Printing Works, Allen Street, Goswell Street, E.C.
ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

Fig. 12. Reduced.

which first came out in 1849 and has continued with slightly varying title until the present day. Bradshaw's energy as a publisher was also shown in various other ways. In the years 1841 to 1844 he published *Bradshaw's Manchester*

Journal, a miscellany of literature, science, and art, four volumes of which were issued. He also published a series of

Not. H. 2. Now ready

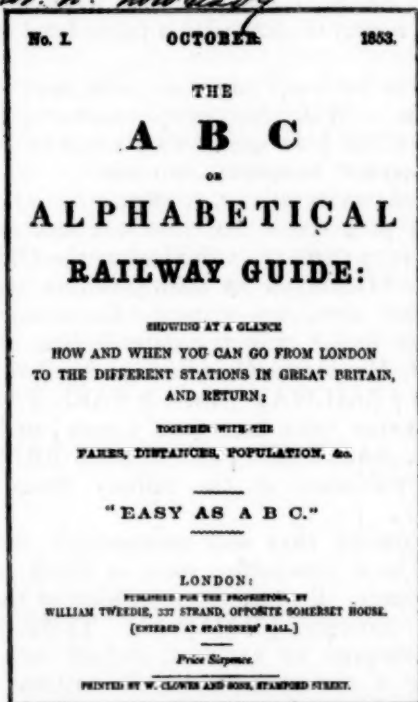


Fig. 13. Reduced.

Shilling Handbooks, and after his death various Descriptive Guides, &c. were issued by his successors.

I have already pointed out that E. C. & W. Osborne of Birmingham issued a portable Time Table in 1839. The

title on the label is : 'OSBORNES' | TIME TABLE | OF
'THE | GRAND JUNCTION, | LONDON & BIRMINGHAM, | AND |
'BIRMINGHAM & DERBY | RAILWAYS. | Price 6d.' It consists of seven leaves (two of which are skeleton maps) pasted back to back, bound in cloth with a paper label on side (fig. 2, p. 141).

Among other contemporary time tables are :

(J. Bridgen of Wolverhampton). BRIDGEN'S | RAILWAY
| TIME TABLES | OR GUIDE TO | RAILWAY TRAVELLING. |
LONDON : | SIMPKIN MARSHALL AND CO., . . . | . . . | PRICE
SIXPENCE. | CORRECTED TO AUG. 1, 1840.

A note on p. 2 states that this is a new and improved edition. In 1904 there was exhibited at the Old Manchester Exhibition at Manchester an edition of this Time Table on p. 11 of which there was printed 'Corrected October 18, 1839', a day earlier than the date of *issue* of the earliest Bradshaw (cf. *Manchester Guardian*, 30 April 1921).

ROBINSON'S | RAILWAY TIME & FARE TABLES | CONTAINING | CORRECT TIME AND FARE TABLES | OF | ALL THE
PRINCIPAL RAILWAYS | IN GREAT BRITAIN, | . . .
| London | published at the railway times office, 122,
fleet street ; . . . | . . .

Naturally during 1841 and subsequently there appeared a number of local time-tables, some of which, however, had but a short career. Perhaps the most ideal of them was :

TOPHAM'S PATENTED | RAILWAY TIME-TABLE | EXCLUSIVELY CONFINED TO RAILWAY, PACKET AND TRAVELLING
NEWS, | Being a corrected | MONTHLY RAILWAY AND STEAM
NAVIGATION | GUIDE | . . . DERBY : PRINTED BY RICHARDSON
AND SON, | . . .

The first number appeared in May 1848 at the price of 6d. and was continued under a more simplified title until December 1849 at least. Its great feature consisted in the up and down trains being printed chronologically in parallel

columns, differentiated by the up trains being printed in red, the down trains in black. It recommended itself on account of its 'Perspicuity, Simplicity and Brevity' and that 'it will 'not be encumbered with advertisements nor comprise any 'extraneous matter.'

I also exhibit some early sheet time tables which includes one of the earliest in existence, 'The Liverpool and Manchester Railway' of January 1831 (Fig. 1, p. 139).

In conclusion, I must thank our President, Mr. Falconer Madan, for his kindness in placing at my disposal all his collections and correspondence relating to Bradshaw. He was the first man to approach the subject as a bibliographical study (cf. *Athenaeum*, 24 December 1887, 19 January 1889), and I am glad to think that during his Presidency I have been able to show that his early pioneer work was well founded. Even this paper is not the final word, but it is an attempt to chronicle our present knowledge.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

NEW MEMBERS

THE following new members of the Bibliographical Society have been elected in October and November: The Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, K.C., the Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., Miss M. St. Clare Byrne, Mr. R. E. Holmes, Sir Evan D. Jones, Miss H. A. Lake, Mr. Ernest Marchetti, Mr. F. R. D. Needham, Miss Hilda Roberts, Professor H. B. Charlton, Mr. Herbert Garland, the Hon. A. J. P. Howard, Mr. W. G. Partington, and the Central Library of the City of Auckland, New Zealand.

NOTICES

The following papers will be read before the Society on the dates named:

December 19.—The early career of Edward Raban, afterwards first printer at Aberdeen. Mr. E. Gordon Duff.

January 16.—Elizabethan Handwriting: a first sketch. Mr. Hilary Jenkinson.

February 20.—The Choice of Books for Printing by Caxton and his Successors. Professor H. B. Lathrop.

A. W. POLLARD,
Hon. Sec.

THE ELIOT'S COURT PRINTING HOUSE, 1584-1674

By H. R. PLOMER

THE death of Henry Bynneman of Thames Street, in December 1583, left a gap in the ranks of the printers, which was filled in an unusual way. His last entry in the Registers of the Company of Stationers had been made in the preceding March, when he was licensed to print certain classical works, the Company at the same time adding the following condition :

'Alwaies provided that the said Henry Bynneman shall 'from tyme to tyme accordinge to his good discretion, chose 'and accept any fyve of this cumpanye to be parteners with 'him in the imprintinge of these bookes.'

Bynneman died intestate, and there is nothing to show whether he had taken any steps before his death towards choosing the five men mentioned in the above condition ; but very shortly after his death most of, if not all, his type factotums, pictorial initials, and ornaments were in the possession of four men, Edmund Bollifant *alias* Carpenter, Arnold Hatfield, John Jackson, and Ninian Newton, who a little later on are found printing Latin classics. Bollifant, Hatfield, and Newton were stationers and printers, and had all served their apprenticeship in the printing house of Henry Denham, who with Ralph Newbery of Fleet Street had been appointed by Bynneman one of his assigns. John Jackson belonged to the 'Grocers', and nothing is known about him before this : he may have been a man of some capital, and his inclusion may have been due rather to his money than his skill.

These four men took premises in Eliot's Court, Old Bailey, one of a number of courts lying to the west of Newgate, and Edmund Bollifant, if he was not already living there, was the first to occupy them. A bookseller's shop, known by the name of the 'King's Head' and tenanted later by John Wright, stood at the entrance to the court and next door to the printing house.

Nothing is known as to the business arrangements entered into by these four men, but it is singular that all their names never appear together in the imprint to any book. While they held the stock and printing material in common, the names of those only who were employed in the actual printing of any book, or who may have brought the work into the office, appeared in the imprint. Neither do we know how many presses they started with; but the number of books they printed in the first two years does not seem consistent with Mr. Arber's statement (*Transcript* v. 133) that they started with one hand press.

The first book that issued from the Eliot's Court printing house was Edmund Bunny's octavo edition of Robert Parsons's *Booke of Christian Exercise*, to which was added Bunny's *Treatise of Pacification*, finished some time in August 1584 and bearing in the imprint the names of N. Newton and A. Hatfield as printers, and that of John Wight as the publisher. The types used in this, and also the two factotums found in it, are easily recognized as having belonged to Bynneman.

During the year 1585 the firm turned out an octavo edition of Cicero in nine volumes with the imprint of Jackson and Bollifant, while Ninian Newton and Arnold Hatfield were at work on editions of Caesar's *Commentaries* and Horace in sexto-decimo. Bollifant also printed for Henry Denham and Ralph Newbery the *Britannica Historia* of Virunus Ponticus; while Jackson printed for George Bishop, one of the assigns

of Christopher Barker, Duarenus' *De sacris ecclesiae ministeriis ac beneficiis*.

But perhaps the most notable production of that year was William Bulloker's *Aesop's Fables* 'in tru Ortography', printed and sold by Edmund Bollifant at the printing house in Eliot's Court.

Meanwhile the firm was not without its troubles. Joseph Barnes, the printer at Oxford, had pirated John Wight's copyright of the *Book of Christian Exercise*, to the great loss of the printers at Eliot's Court, who declared that it was one of the most 'vendible' books ever issued in this country, and from which they had hoped to reap great profits. Naturally they hit back, and printed in 1585 Dr. Bilson's *True difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion*, the copyright of which belonged to Barnes, who at once took steps to have them punished. A raid was made on the premises in Eliot's Court, one of the presses was seized, and Edmund Bollifant was imprisoned and only released on the urgent petition of the Master and Wardens of the Company to the Privy Council (Arber, ii. 794).

On the other hand the printing house in Eliot's Court received strong support from the trade, and during the next ten years it was actively employed not only by George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and the other assigns of Christopher Barker, but also by John Norton, Bonham Norton, John Bill, John Wolfe, Francis Coldock, who were all of them booksellers in a large way. To this firm may be attributed the printing of the greater part of the Latin Bible issued by the assigns of C. Barker in 1592-3. The fourth part and the Apocrypha bear on the title-page the caduceus device (McKerrow 293) which is afterwards found exclusively in the hands of the various printers at the Eliot's Court printing house, and while no doubt the preliminary matter and the New Testa-

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ment were printed at Barker's press, the bulk of the book was done with Bynneman's types at Eliot's Court.

During the year 1586 the firm lost the services of Ninian Newton, his last work being a quarto edition of Dodoen's *Herball*. The next to go was John Jackson, whose name is not found after 1596, and early in 1602 Edmund Bollifant died.

In addition to those already mentioned the following classical and foreign books came through his press :

1587. Pflacher, M., *Analysis typica*, 8vo ;

1589. Livy, *Romanæ Historiae*, 8vo ;

1590. J. Twyne's *De rebus Albionices*, 8vo ;

1599. J. Minsheu, *Dictionary in Spanish and English*, fol., and also the Spanish *Grammar and Dialogues* ;

1600. M. Sutcliffe, *De vera Christi ecclesia*, 4to ;

whilst among the English books must not be forgotten the second edition of William Lambard's *Perambulation of Kent*, in 1596. In this book a good deal of Anglo-Saxon type was used.

Bollifant's place was taken almost immediately by Melchisideck Bradwood, who had served his time in John Day's office, where he had become familiar with good and artistic printing, and he became the next tenant of the house. On 5 July 1602 the booksellers, George Bishop, William Ponsonby, Simon Waterson, John Norton, and George Adams, entered in the Registers an edition of the *Works* of Plutarch, and agreed to give the printing of it to Arnold Hatfield and M. Bradwood [Arber, iii. 211]. The book, a folio of some fourteen hundred pages, bears the imprint, 'At London. Printed by Arnold Hatfield, 1603.' This was followed in 1606 by the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius, a handsome folio, which while bearing John Norton's imprint as King's Printer on the title-page, is stated in the colophon to have been printed 'for John Norton and John Bill', and

the presence of the caduceus mark above this, and the initial letters and ornaments used throughout it, stamp the work as a product of the Eliot's Court printing house, and in both of these we may be sure Bradwood had a hand. But this printer will always be remembered for his share in the Greek works edited by Sir Henry Savile, and here again we have John Norton turning to the Eliot's Court printers for help. As every one knows, the Greek type used in the 'Chrysostom' was bought by Sir Henry Savile abroad, but it was Melchisedeck Bradwood who was chosen as the printer and who took down to Eton from Eliot's Court all the supplementary type, initials, ornaments, and devices, and the necessary workmen, having received special permission from the Company of Stationers to employ six apprentices to help him in the work, while John Norton took all the credit to himself by placing his own name in the imprint.

During Bradwood's absence at Eton the last of the original founders of the Eliot's Court printing house, Arnold Hatfield, died early in January 16¹¹/₁₂. He described himself in his will as dwelling in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, where he desired to be buried. He appointed Bradwood one of his overseers and left him money to buy a ring. Hatfield's place in the firm was taken by Edward Griffin the first, who had served his time with Hatfield and was doubtless working in the office, and who thereupon took up his residence in Eliot's Court, in succession to Bradwood, who had definitely removed to Eton, where he died in 1618.

Edward Griffin was faced with a heavy task, as Bradwood took little share in the London business, which had grown to such an extent, as to equal the output of any two other London printing houses at that time, and we may readily believe that he was on the look-out for help in the management of it.

Amongst those at a loose end just then was George Pur-

slowe, who had served his time with Richard Bradocke. With a view evidently to establishing an office of his own he had recently bought from Simon Stafford, a printer, then working in Hosier Lane, some of his printing stuff, such as initial letters, ornaments, and devices, and perhaps his press, and took over from the widow of another printer, John Pindley, all her interests in her late husband's copies, and with them very likely the widow herself. George Purslowe's first issue was Leonard Wright's *A display of dutie*, and it was printed for him by Edward Griffin at the Eliot's Court Printing House in 1613 or 1614, and this may very well have been the initial step in a business arrangement between them. At any rate, from this time forward, George Purslowe is found using the printing material of the Eliot's Court printing house while putting his imprint to such books as he brought in to be printed or such as were printed on his press, as had been the custom in that office ever since its foundation. On the other hand, Edward Griffin is found using the ornaments, initials, &c., which Purslowe had bought from Simon Stafford, and there is little room for doubt that Purslowe had thrown in his lot with Griffin and become a partner in the Eliot's Court printing house.

It is true that in 1616 there appeared an edition of Greene's *Mourning Garment*, printed by Purslowe, in the imprint to which he gave his address as at the 'East end of Christchurch'; but this rather confirms than weakens the argument, because if Christ Church, Newgate Street, was the one referred to, it would have been a very natural place for Purslowe to have lived, as it was not three minutes' walk from Eliot's Court. It may also be contended that Purslowe 'borrowed' the initials and ornaments belonging to the Eliot's Court printing house that appeared in his books. If so, half his time must have been spent in carting material

backwards and forwards. It is much more likely that his press was at Eliot's Court, and that he did his printing there. In short, that he filled the gap caused by Hatfield's death.

As has already been mentioned, Melchisideck Bradwood died in 1618. He had not been much help to the London business since 1610, but amongst his later productions was a folio edition of Montaigne's *Essays*, printed in 1613 at Eliot's Court. Bradwood's work was always carefully done, and some of the quarto books that he printed for John Bill and John Norton were above the general average of printing at that time.

The next change in the fortunes of the Eliot's Court printing house was brought about by the death of Edward Griffin the first in 1620, his successor being John Haviland. Additional information concerning this printer has come to light within recent years. We now know that he was the younger son of a Gloucestershire clergyman, and one of a large family. We also know that he was chosen and sent abroad in 1631 to hunt for Greek type, and he appears to have had plenty of capital, some of which he employed in taking a share, with the widow of Edward Griffin, in the management of the Eliot's Court printing house. In a return of the number of printing presses in London in 1623, his name is coupled with hers as having three; moreover the names of Haviland, Griffin, and Purslowe, the last named being the widow of George Purslowe, are found in the imprints of the books coming from the press during the next seventeen years, and the printing material continued to be used in common by all three; in other words, the business would appear to have been conducted on exactly the same lines as it had been since its foundation in 1584, the only change being that Haviland added more material to that already in the office. The Eliot's Court press was never more busy than during John Haviland's connexion with it.

In addition to theological work, of which he printed a large amount, he was also one of the assigns of John More, and by right of that printed various law books, and the firm at this time had also some share in printing the Psalms in meter. The full activity of the press is difficult to trace, since many of the books that came from it between 1601 and 1640 are only to be identified by the initials or ornaments, having only the publisher's name in the imprint, whilst many others bore only the printer's initials, such as J. H. for John Haviland, A. G. for Ann Griffin, and G. P. or E. P. for George or Elizabeth Purslowe.

John Haviland's chief claim to remembrance rests on the numerous editions of the writings of Sir Francis Bacon which came from his press. First and foremost was the Latin edition of his *Works*, a handsome folio printed in 1623. In 1625 he printed a quarto edition of the *Essays*. In 1627 appeared the *Sylva Sylvarum*, and he also printed the Latin and English editions of the *Historia Naturalis* in 1622 and 1638.

Haviland's death occurred between 11 October 1638, when he made his will, and 20 November in the same year, when it was proved. The will is a lengthy but interesting document. In it he left a bequest of £50 to Mistress Griffin, a like sum to Elizabeth Purslowe, and 20s. for a ring to Edward Griffin—i. e. Edward Griffin the second. It also contains the following clause, which may or may not refer to the Eliot's Court printing house:

'Item my will and mynde is that my executor John Wright
'the elder doe not intermeddle with the lettinge, settinge,
'contracting for or disposing of my printing howse or the
'materialls thereof, but that he leave it to be disposed of
'and ordered by my brother Miles Flesher, and my friend
'Andrew Croke. And my desire is that they contract with
'and sett my said printinge howse and materialls thereof to
'Thomas Broad printer for such yearly reasonable sum of

'money as the said Miles Flesher and Andrew Crooke shall
'in their discrecons think fit' (P.C.C. 158, Lee).

Now the only Thomas Broad known in the annals of printing in England was the York printer of that name who is first heard of in 1644. Nothing is known of his previous history. His name does not appear in the Transcript of the Stationers' Registers before 1640, and his name is never found in connexion with the Eliot's Court printing house. If the Eliot's Court business is the one referred to in the above passage from Haviland's will, it is certain that Broad did not take it over, or if he did he sublet it to the persons who were then in occupation; but on the whole it appears more probable that it referred to one of the other businesses in which Haviland was interested, because his death made no change at Eliot's Court. Edward Griffin the second, whose name is first found in the imprints in the year of Haviland's death, dropped into his place, and in partnership with Elizabeth Purslowe, the widow of George Purslowe who had died in 1632, continued to carry on the business during the Civil War and Commonwealth periods, and amongst the books and pamphlets issued at that time, the following have been traced to Eliot's Court: Dean Colet's *Daily Devotions*, a duodecimo with an engraved title-page dated 1640 and a printed title-page dated 1641, and printed by E[dward] G[riffin] for John Benson; *Epithalamium auraiico-Britannicum*, 4to, 1641, recognized by the device at the end; *A Letter from the Lord of Leicester*, printed for John Wright 27 September 1642; *The nature of a Sacred Covenant*, printed by E. G. for John Rothwell and Giles Calvert, 1643, 4to; *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons*, printed for John Wright, 1644, 4to; *The propositions of the Lords and Commons for a safe and well-grounded Peace*, printed for John Wright at the King's Head in the old Bayley 17th July 1646; and many others.

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Edward Griffin the second died in 1652, and was succeeded in the business by his widow Sarah, and Elizabeth Purslowe died in 1656. In the Hearth Tax return made in 1662, under Eliot's Court, Sarah Griffin was assessed at one guinea for seven hearths [P.R.O. Lay Subsidy 147/627], and in 1668, in a return of the number of presses and workmen employed in the printing houses of London, Mrs. Griffin was found to have 2 presses, 1 apprentice, and 6 workmen. As late as 1674 books are found with the imprint of Sarah Griffin and Bennett Griffin, presumably her son, but after 1660 the fashion in printing changed considerably: the old blocks and pictorial initials disappear, and it becomes well-nigh impossible to trace the work of the Eliot's Court printing house with any certainty or to speak positively as to its ultimate fate.

In a second paper, something will be said of the various ornaments, initial letters, and devices used by these printers.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PRINTERS AT ELIOT'S COURT,
OLD BAILEY, 1584-1674

- 1584-1586. Arnold Hatfield, N. Newton, J. Jackson, and Edmund Bollifant *alias* Carpenter.
1586-1596. Hatfield, Jackson, Bollifant.
1596-1602. Hatfield, Bollifant.
1602-1609. Hatfield, M. Bradwood.
1609-1611. Hatfield, Edward Griffin I (M. Bradwood, Eton).
1611-1612. Hatfield, Griffin, Bradwood.
1612-1618. Griffin, Bradwood, G. Purslowe.
1618-1620. Griffin, Purslowe.
1621-1638. John Haviland, Ann Griffin, Eliz. Purslowe.
1639-1656. Edward Griffin II, Sarah Griffin (widow of Edward Griffin II), Eliz. Purslowe.
1657-1674. Sarah Griffin and Bennett Griffin.

AUTHOR AND PUBLISHER IN 1727

'THE ENGLISH HERMIT'

By ARUNDELL ESDAILE

THE British Museum has recently acquired a copy of the first (1727) edition of the well-known 'Robinsoniad', variously quoted as 'The Hermit', 'The English Hermit', or 'The Adventures of Philip Quarll', which has a variant title and preliminary leaves, apparently hitherto unknown, which reveal the author's name. This copy is in contemporary calf (rebacked), bearing the Montagu crest stamp and the Ditton Park bookplate. The story of the issue, so far as it can be made out, is curious, and seems worth recording.

The sheets of text in the ordinary copies, of which the Museum has two, and in this (hereafter called I and II respectively) are identical. The preliminaries, however, differ widely. In I they are as follows:

- (i) Frontispiece;
- (ii) Title-page;
- (iii-vi) Signed A3, 4 [5, 6], and paged [v] vi-xi [xii]: preface, commendatory poem, and errata;
- (vii) Map of the Island;
- (viii) Explanation of the Map.

The make-up of these leaves is very curious; the inner four are regular, and the last two, the map and 'Explanation', are a true pair; the frontispiece is independent (as one would expect, had it not been that the map is not); there remains the title-page, and this is a pair with the first leaf of text, which is signed B. The last leaf of B, B8, or more exactly speaking B9, is a single leaf, whose butt is visible after B1. I can only suppose that for some reason the first title-page to be printed

and the first leaf of text were both cancelled, and that the printer reprinted them together on a quarter sheet.

But this does not bear on the difference between the two issues, with which I am dealing.

In II we find (i) and (v-viii) unaltered; but in place of (ii-iv) there are four new leaves, of a somewhat rougher and whiter paper, containing a quite different title, a dedication (there being none in I), and a different preface. The original (v) and (vi) are sewn in, the butts of their pairs remaining. The new leaves are very rudely printed, as if by a country jobber.

When the relevant parts of the two issues are set out side by side we shall see their differences more clearly.

I	II
TITLE	TITLE
<p>The Hermit: Or, the Un- parallelled [<i>sic</i>] Sufferings and Surprising Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll, an Englishman. Who was lately discovered by Mr. Dorrington a Bristol Mer- chant, upon an uninhabited Island in the South-Sea; where he has lived above Fifty Years, without any human Assistance, still continues to reside, and will not come away. Containing I, His Conferences with Those who found him out, to whom he recites the most material Cir- cumstances of his Life. . . . With a curious Map of the Island, and other Cuts.</p>	<p>The | English Hermit, | Or the | Un- parallel'd and Surprizing Adventures | of one | Philip Quarll; | Who was lately found in an Uninhabited Island in the South Sea, near <i>Mexico</i>; where | he has liv'd fifty Years unknown and remote | from humane Assistance, and where he still | remains and intends to end his Days. ||</p> <p>With an Account of his Miraculous coming there . . . as also of his being accidentally found out by an English Merchant. . . . ||</p> <p>With his Conversation and extream kind manner of | Entertaining of the said Persons, to whom . . . he gave at | Parting a Mapp of the Island of his own Drawing, | and a Memorial of his Birth and Education, of all | the . . . Transactions of | his Life. . . . ||</p>
<p><i>Westminster: Printed by J. Cluer and A. Campbell, for T. Warner . . . and B. Creak 1727.</i></p>	<p>Likewise of the . . . Events happened in the Island since his being there, carefully gathered out of the above said Memoirs in thr[ee] | Books by P. L. Gent. <i>Anno Domini, 1727.</i> || [Four lines of verse.]</p>

It is to be noted that the title of II gives the author's initials, which in I appear only at the end of the preface, omits all mention of Dorrington, who figures in I as the discoverer of Quarll and the compiler of the book, and further has no imprint; also that the wording 'The English Hermit' is a return to that of the 'drop-down title' and of the headlines.

The dedication in II is addressed 'To the most Worthy Patriot, the Honourable Sir Thomas Seabright, Bart., Member of Parliament for Hartfordshire, &c.,' and is signed 'Peter Longueville', thus explaining the initials 'P. L.', which were all that was hitherto known of the author. Not that it is much gain, for of Longueville himself I have so far failed to learn anything whatever except what he himself deliberately or unconsciously reveals. In the opening words of this dedication he definitely claims the authorship. 'Having the good Fortune,' he says, 'to hit on a Subject as uncommon as agreeable, I have Employed some of the anxious Hours the Irksomeness the tedious Confinement my Indisposition has put me to these six Years,¹ in Writing the following History.'

In the re-written preface which follows, Longueville keeps up the fiction of the friend to whom Quarll gave the memoirs, but in the face of this it can only be part of the game.

From a perusal of the two prefaces further curious points emerge, as will be seen from the following extracts:

I

PREFACE

Truth and Fiction have, of late, been so promiscuously blended together, in Performances of this Nature; that, in the present Case, it seems absolutely necessary to distinguish the *one* from the *other*. If *Robinson*

II

PREFACE

Having Written and Published the following History, I fulfill the Old Gentlemen's Injunction to my Friend when he gave him the Memoirs out of which I have taken it, and his Promise at the receiving thereof. I must confess when I first undertook [*sic*] the Task, I had but little Incouragement

¹ This dates the inception of the story back to 1721, or two years after *Robinson Crusoe*.

Crusoe, *Moll Flanders*, and Colonel *Jack* have had their Admirers among the lower Rank of Readers; it is as certain, that the Morality in Masquerade, which may be discovered, in the Travels of *Lemuel Gulliver*, has been an equal Entertainment to the superior Class of Mankind.

Now it may, without the least Arrogance, be affirmed, that, tho' this *surprising Narrative* be not so replete with *vulgar Stories* as the former, or so interspersed with a *Satirical Vein*, as the last of the above-mentioned Treatises; yet it is certainly of more Use to the publick, than either of them, because every Incident, herein related, is real Matter of Fact. But because my Share in this Work, is no other than that of a bare Editor; I think it my Duty to account for the Possession of this Manuscript.

It was put into my Hands, about a Year ago, by Mr. Dorrington, an eminent Merchant, with full Liberty to publish it when, and in what Manner, I thought most proper. I hope therefore it will not be deemed impertinent to give some account of my Friend, as a Reputation to the Work it self.

[Here follows a circumstantial account of Edward Dorrington and his family.]

to go on with the Work, the Book-Sellers Shops being already crouded with *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, Colln. *Jacks*, and numbers of that Nature, but they having had their Admirers, it may be hop'd that tho' this surprizing Narrative be not so replete with vulgar Stories, or so interspersed with a satirical strain as the above said, it may be accounted as useful as either, the Incidents therein mentioned being neither supernatural, Fabulous nor Romantick, but diverting and Moral. . . .

. . . I have as near as I could done them [Quarll's merits] Iustice still keeping to my Original as much as the, making it a Compleat History will permit, without Affectation [*sic*] of lofty Phrases or smooth Expression as usual in Novels and Romances, the Subject having Merit enough of it selfe to recommend it.

Therefore having in a plain manner Performed my Undertaking, I leave the Venerable Hermit in full Enjoyment of Happiness and his Reader the Pleasure of Tracing his Stepps, along the Serpentine and Winding Lœne [*sic*] that lead [*sic*] him theither [*sic*], whilst I wait my Friends Return, who Promised to Endeavour seeing the Old Man again if those Dangers who [*sic*] forbid the very Attempt thereof are but once absent and then I will by the means of some honest Bookseller impart to the Publick whatever I shall have heard of him.

N.B. The Book seller who Purchased my Copy having in his Preface, made one Mr. Dorrington, a Pretended Bristol Merchant on whom he Fathers a Journal at the End of my first Book to be the Author of the present History, in Order to Advance the Sale of his Books, this is to Certify that I never knew no such a Person, least any one be displeas'd at the Imposition.

P. L.

Now here we have two documents, one describing the Dorrington of the title-page and text ¹ in some detail, and the other denouncing him as an impostor. On this ground alone we might assume that they cannot be by the same hand. And that conclusion is supported by other internal evidence. The author of I was not a remarkably fine stylist; in fact he writes a rather ordinary English-of-all-work of the day. But he is incapable of the stumbling grammar of II. Again, II is clearly plagiarising from I, and that without understanding him. It will be observed that I, while alluding contemptuously to Defoe's tales and to *Gulliver*, yet makes a critical distinction between them, attributing to the former a vulgarity admired by the lower rank, and to the latter a satirical strain entertaining to the superior class of readers. On the other hand II, obviously writing with this page before him, omits to mention *Gulliver*, but includes the 'satirical strain' among the failings of Defoe. This can only be unintelligent paraphrasing by a man who does not wish to copy word for word, and does not understand his original. Naturally that original cannot be his own. Yet both prefaces are signed P. L.

Of the two men the author of Preface II and of the accompanying fully-signed dedication, is of course Longueville; that of Preface I remains concealed, but must have been a hack in the pay of the publishers.

The style of the text ought, one would think, to reveal clearly which of the two is telling the truth, according to whether it proves to be that of the professional or of the ill-educated amateur. But it is neither. It represents a distinct third grade, about midway between the other two. It would be difficult to establish this by the quotation of particular passages of any tolerable brevity; but, putting on one side spellings and punctuation, for which the printer

¹ Part I is signed at the end: Edward Dorrington, November 6, 1725.

(whose errors are innumerable) may be responsible, a clear impression remains of a rather vulgar diction and a decidedly clumsy and dull narrative, crowded with unenlivened incidents (for example, the voyage, Quarll's wife's death at sea, a chase by a pirate, and the shipwreck, are all huddled into a page and a half); but also of a comparative freedom from the preposterous English of Longueville, as displayed in the preface and dedication of II. Not that specimens of it do not occur; there are whole paragraphs in his manner, and every few pages there may be found such flowers of speech as 'abstrapulousness', 'curiosity', 'superovery' (?), 'primority', 'discharch'd', 'screek' (frequently = screech), or (a favourite idiom) 'the Knight as kept her'.

Let us reconstruct the transaction as it is likely to have happened. Messrs. Warner & Creake, London publishers of no particular credit or renown, are offered by, or on behalf of, an obscure individual named Peter Longueville a manuscript tale, which they see to be in the taste of the time as set eight years before by *Robinson Crusoe*, and to have possibilities of a good sale; they accordingly buy it for money down. But they also see it to be written in a style too illiterate to be tolerated even by the public which enjoyed (and used) Defoe's unconsidered vernacular—the style, in fact, of Longueville's signed dedication in II. What would such a publisher, dealing with such an author, do to-day? Pretty nearly what Warner and Creake, as I take it, now proceeded to do—hand the manuscript to one of their hack translators to revise for press. The hack appears to have been a man of some imagination and also of some indolence. His polishing of the text was by no means thorough; yet he left large parts of it in a state of correctness that Longueville could never have attained to (Book II is noticeably worse than Books I and III); in the course of this he added to the end of Book I (the supposititious friend's introductory

narrative) a signature, 'Edward Dorrington,' and a date in 1725. When he came to write the preface he turned his creation into 'a lie with a circumstance' by providing him with a detailed family history. This was rash; but he did not imagine that any one would attempt to prove or disprove its truth. Some of his details are easy to check; for example, a little very elementary research disproves, at least negatively, the statements that Richard Dorrington, Edward's father, was admitted to Gray's Inn, and died in 1708 a prosperous lawyer at Bath.

Dorrington's name is also introduced into the title-page, and the sight of it there when he opened one of his copies of the volume (our I) was no doubt the first that Longueville knew of all this. Indignant at the substitution of the name of the 'pretended Bristol Merchant' for his own, he straightway writes another preface, largely a garbled version of that already printed, with, however, a sting in the tail, in the shape of a denunciation of the bookseller and a declaration that he 'never knew no such a person' as Dorrington; and, like so many other novices in authorship, he offers to write a sequel, to be imparted to the public through 'some honest bookseller' (in fact, not Warner & Creak). He also writes a dedication to a patron, Sir Thomas Sebright, again claiming the whole authorship, and this time signing his full name; and he draws up a new title-page, in which Dorrington is deleted and his own initials appear; he also omits any imprint, which would be unnecessary in presentation copies. These leaves he hands to some jobbing printer, who turns out a few pulls, careless enough, for insertion in these copies.

The present-day publishers, who deal in old ladies' disreputable or merely vacuous memoirs, employ a modern counterpart (female, I believe) of the eighteenth-century bookseller's hack; but the author's connivance is necessary. Warner & Creak, having bought Longueville's copy, no

doubt saw no reason to ask his opinion, and simply took the cheapest way to make their purchase saleable. Nor would the law or public opinion have condemned them.¹

¹ William A. Jones, in his *Characters and Criticisms*, 1857, vol. i, p. 8, says: 'The Adventures of the English Hermit were first published in chapters in a weekly newspaper, called the Public Intelligencer, shortly after the appearance of Robinson Crusoe.' I should be glad if any reader could verify this, as I have not been able to trace the *Public Intelligencer*. Probably the serial publication of the *Hermit* will prove to be a reprint from the volume, as was that of *Robinson Crusoe*.

THE ROYAL MANUSCRIPTS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM¹

By M. R. JAMES

WHEN Sir Frederic Kenyon, Sir George Warner, and Mr. J. P. Gilson (not to mention other able assistants) combine to produce a 'full-dress' catalogue of MSS., the result is likely to satisfy the most exacting of critics. I do not myself claim that title, but, as one who has had occasion to examine many scores of the Royal MSS. (and who, very possibly, has a larger general acquaintance with the collection than any one outside the Museum) I unhesitatingly pass the verdict of Excellent upon the new catalogue.

Every researcher into the provinces of knowledge which depend upon MSS. has long looked forward to its publication. Hitherto he has had no guide better than David Casley's single 4to volume, printed in 1734: now he has three most stately volumes of text and indexes, and a fourth of plates. He is informed of almost every particular about the date, aspect, structure, history, contents, and decoration of each book which he can expect to ascertain without personal inspection. I do not think he can reasonably ask more from a catalogue.

At this point I should like to put in a word of acknowledgment to David Casley. No one who has used his book can fail to know how little it satisfies modern requirements;

¹ *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections.* By Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson. Printed for the Trustees and sold at the British Museum. 1921. 4 volumes, 11 gs. buckram, 13 gs. half-morocco.

but I have always been grateful to him for his assignments of dates (fairly correct in the main, as Mr. Gilson says) and for his noting of the provenances of MSS., not a few of which would have vanished wholly through re-binding if he had not recorded them. In both these respects his catalogue was superior to others of his age.

If my arithmetic is correct (for there is no continuous numbering of the volumes) there are described in this catalogue nearly 2,000 Royal MSS., including the Appendix, and 446 King's MSS. The latter are the MS. portion of the library of George III, presented to the nation by George IV, and are for the most part of recent date. The Royal MSS. proper have a longer and more interesting history which Mr. Gilson tells us admirably in his close packed introduction of twenty-two pages. Edward IV, who cannot be described as a literary monarch, is the real founder of the collection. His contribution consists in the main of large volumes of chronicles, romances, and translations of standard Latin books, written at Bruges or Ghent, and handsomely turned out and illustrated, not often in first-class style. To trace the history of the library through all the succeeding reigns would be merely to epitomize Mr. Gilson's narrative. The salient points are these: the accession of some hundreds of books from monastic libraries in the years just before and just after the Dissolution, managed, in a very spasmodic fashion, through John Leland, by Henry VIII; the 'purging of his Highnes (Edward VI's) 'librarie at Westminster of all superstitious bookes', in 1551, of which nothing more is known: the purchase of John Lord Lumley's library by James I for the use of Prince Henry in 1609, which brought in over 300 MSS.; and the similar purchase, about 1678, of the Theyer library by Charles II, which added 300 more.

The three acquisitions here named account for the great

majority of the mediaeval MSS. now in the collection; but there is also a considerable mass of 'complimentary addresses, 'New Year's gifts, petitions, and the like' which, as Mr. Gilson says, 'come without effort' to a royal library and 'prove 'a valuable historical record of very varied interest'. There are also isolated gifts of note, among which the Codex Alexandrinus (1 D. v-viii), the offering of the Patriarch Cyril Lucar to Charles I, holds the foremost place.

The library thus constituted had several vicissitudes to encounter, besides the purging under Edward VI. It was in some danger of dispersion under the Commonwealth, but better counsels than those of Hugh Peters prevailed. It did, however, lose at this time one great treasure, no less than the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, now at Chantilly. (The Belleville Breviary, which had been owned by Richard II and Henry V, passed back to France earlier.) In 1698, in the fire which destroyed the Whitehall library, some fine books no doubt perished which in the course of nature would have come to St. James's. In 1731 the more disastrous fire at Ashburnham House, which spoilt so many of the Cotton MSS., did some damage also to the Royals, but practically to only three shelves of theology and canon law. It is satisfactory to read that 'the loss of manuscripts experienced in the last 'two hundred years has been comparatively slight'. One does, however, not very infrequently encounter in other collections volumes distinguished by the old Royal pressmark. The last and most interesting which I have myself noticed is the Anglo-Saxon Heptateuch in the Bodleian (Laud Misc. 509). Mr. Gilson could no doubt, and I hope will, supply us with a list of these strays.

The succession of the Library Keepers is set out in detail in the Introduction. The earliest are undistinguished. I only mention Giles Duwes (Aegidius de Vadis) in order to point out that Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses works

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of his, and transcripts dealing with alchemy (see nos. 1380, 1399, 1400). The first name of real literary distinction is that of Patrick Young (Patricius Junius) who presided over the books for a period of about forty years ending in 1649. Much of his written work, also, is to be found at Trinity College. His successor John Durie had many of the best qualifications of a librarian in theory, but in practice was hampered by the difficult conditions prevailing under the Commonwealth. Justel, too, has a certain name; but Richard Bentley was incomparably the most distinguished man who ever held the post of Library Keeper, and the *Phalaris* is, I suppose, the most famous book which was ever generated by a library quarrel. The history of the Royal collection as a separate entity ends with the Act of 1753 by which the British Museum was constituted.

From history we turn now to the collection as it is shown to us in the catalogue. The old enumeration, reminiscent of the presses in which it was arranged at Ashburnham House, runs from 1 A. 1 to 20 E. x plus an Appendix of 89 numbers. The arrangement is roughly according to the principal subjects of the volumes. Case 1 contains Bibles; 2, 3, 4, Psalters, Horae, glossed books of the Bible, commentaries; 5, 6, 7, 8, Theology, patristic and mediaeval; 9, 10, 11, mainly Canon and Civil Law; 12 begins with a number of the complimentary books presented to sovereigns, and goes on with grammar, astrology, medicine; 13 and 14 contain history, but 14 A has a number of small occasional books; 15 has classics (Latin) and some of Edward IV's large French books; 16 begins with Oriental and Greek and continues with French; 17, 18 are English; 19 and 20 again French. Thus the number of the case is in most instances a guide to the general character of the book. The finest art, one may add, of the earlier centuries must be looked for in 1 and 2, that of the later in 15 to 20. There are of course exceptions

to this statement: the Decretals 10 E. iv shines out from among dull neighbours as one of the most diverting of mediaeval picture-books.

To myself a principal point of interest in a collection of MSS. has long been the provenance of each volume. Indeed, in the case of many of the plain stock books of a mediaeval library it may be said to be almost the only point of interest. There are scores of copies of the *Glossa ordinaria* on the several books of the Bible, and very likely the best service they can do now is to tell us where a particular type of handwriting or ornament was in vogue. Turning to this aspect of the Old Royal collection, namely, the monastic libraries from which it was recruited, directly by Leland, and indirectly by Lumley and Theyer, we find that over 70 communities, monastic and collegiate, are represented. Rochester is easily first with about 100 volumes. St. Albans, the two Canterbury houses, Bury, Merton, Reading, and Worcester are the most considerable of the other contributors. The paucity of northern books is remarkable: Durham has but one claim, and that not certain—on 7 A. vi; Rievaulx one; Hexham, Fountains, Carlisle, &c., nothing. Of such northern books as there are, Harry Savile of Banke usually proves to have been the owner. The Bury books, as a rule, come from Lumley; the Theyers, who lived in Gloucestershire, drew largely from that part of England. There is an interesting record (App. 69) of Leland's proceedings as a collector of monastic MSS., in the shape of a list drawn up by him and annotated by Henry VIII, of books which he had noted in the religious houses of Lincolnshire. Though this is extensively quoted in the present catalogue, it has never, it seems, been printed; I hope that this may be done.

I have naturally devoted a good deal of attention to the question of provenances, and I find (as I expected) very little to add, or to disagree with. To Lanthony I would confidently

assign two more books : 2 C. x Claudius on Matthew, on the strength of the script of the table of contents, with which I am familiar from researches at Lambeth, and 2 D. v, Clement of Lanthony on the Acts, which I believe to be autograph, and unique, and which is no. 108 in the Lanthony catalogue. Further, I suspect that the interesting little book, 5 E. xiii, with its pressmark at the end showing that it belonged to a large library, may be from Worcester ; and for Worcester I also incline to claim 15 B. ii, which Mr. Gilson would assign to Bury. I noted it many years ago when searching for Bury MSS., but rejected it because (a) the letter R of the pressmark cannot be made to suit the contents (Solinus and Æthicus) as it should ; (b) it occurs at the end of the books as well as at the beginning ; (c) I do not think it resembles Bury marks in aspect.

Since I have entered upon *minutiae* of this kind, I will here note two small addenda. In 3 A. vi, art. 2, the verses beginning *Clerice dipticas* are part of the poem of Abbo of St. Germain, and will be found in Migne's *Patrology* (132) and in the *Poetae Aevi Carolini*. On 14 C. xii I would note that the sermon of Henry de Hercley on Thomas à Becket, which was once in that volume, exists in Lambeth MS. 61, and I think very likely the Lambeth copy is the actual one that was in the Royal MS. It came to Lambeth as a separate fragment, and the dimensions of it are very much the same as those of 14 C. xii¹. In his short Preface Sir Frederic Kenyon seems inclined to apologize for the length of the lists of addenda and corrigenda in the several volumes. I do not think he need : the registering of the enormous mass of details which make up this catalogue is not a task which it is possible to perform correctly or completely, as I know too well. Time

¹ Is the Bloduell whose name is written in 12 D. vii, the Blodwell, Dean of St. Asaph's, who is buried at Balsham and gave books to Queens' College, Cambridge ? One of his volumes is among Parker's MSS. at Corpus Christi.

as it passes continually brings new elucidations, and the cataloguer, when he nears the end of his task, is sure to have raised his standard, and to see defects in his earlier descriptions, which by that time have got into print.

But I still do not believe that Dunstable is in Hertfordshire.

The King's MSS., as has been said, are for the most part of recent date, but there is at least one of considerable artistic interest, no. 5, a *Biblia Pauperum*, and of this it should be noted that a sister copy exists in MS. 164 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It is almost uncoloured, and the pictures are differently arranged on the page: but of the close kinship of the two books there can be no doubt.

A catalogue of this kind is a repository of numberless highly miscellaneous facts, and it is not unnatural that a review of it should partake of the same nature. I need not scruple, then, to be miscellaneous in my concluding remarks.

Many technical details of each MS. are supplied here for which we are grateful. The only one I miss is the number of lines in column or page, which is not uniformly given, and which does sometimes help, if not to determine provenance, at least to make one realize the aspect of the book. I should also be glad if in the next catalogue (may it be the Cottonian!) the date of the MS., the second folio or *dictio probatoria*, and, where certain, the provenance, could be put in the forefront of the description of each book instead of appearing in the small print at the end. Considerations of space and economy have, I daresay, dictated the use of solid paragraphs; but *incipits* and *explicitis* are easier to pick out if printed in separate lines. In connexion with the mention of these, let me applaud warmly the index of *initia*, which cannot but be most helpful. I welcome also the regular noting of the opening words of the second leaf. Two instances occur to me in which it is the sole, but certain means of fixing the origin of a book: one is a Canterbury Bible, 1 A. VII (see addenda);

the other a Suetonius from St. Paul's, 15 C. III, which I fancy I was the first to detect. Prolonged study of mediaeval catalogues ought to produce a few more identifications, but unfortunately there are not many which specify the '2^{do} folio'.

As to texts which need editing or collating, there is not much that I can say. The character of the texts of most of the classical MSS. has been determined. The later literatures, however, are coming in for their share of critical attention, and the Royal MSS. will make an important contribution to them as time goes on. For myself I own that did opportunity offer, I should be very much tempted to print the mediaeval ghost-stories from Byland which are attractively described in the account of 15 A. xx.

To any one of experience in such matters, the brief indications of the subjects of the pictures in the illustrated MSS. will commend themselves as quite adequate and most useful. As an addendum let me note that the story of the lady and the wild man in 10 E. IV, ff. 101-6 has been shown by that admirable interpreter of mediaeval pictures, Professor Loomis, to be a chief authority for a tale of which the text is lost.¹

It is no far cry from this topic to that of the plates, 125 in number, in which both the palaeographer and the artist will find a great treasure. The English examples are naturally and rightly in a majority.

Lengthy as this review may possibly appear, it is by no means proportioned to the merits of the magnificent book with which it deals. I have really nothing but praise and gratitude to offer for it. It is a real credit to English scholarship and to the staff of the great Museum which has sent it forth.

¹ *Modern Philology*, 1917, p. 175.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF IRELAND

By T. PERCY C. KIRKPATRICK, M.D., M.R.I.A., PRESIDENT

IRELAND was one of the last countries in western Europe to adopt the printing press, which had been established for nearly one hundred years before the first book, of which we have authentic evidence, was printed in Dublin. In 1550 Humphrey Powell, a London printer, came to Ireland, and in the following year he printed in folio an edition of the Book of Common Prayer, a mere reprint of the edition which had been published by Whitchurch in 1549. Conditions in Ireland in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries were not favourable either for printers or for the preservation of the books which they printed, and the Press made slow progress for many years. Later, however, as the country became more settled, printing presses multiplied, and many were at work during the latter part of the seventeenth century. From the close of the Williamite War till the end of the eighteenth century Ireland enjoyed a domestic peace such as had been unknown for centuries. It is true that this peace was obtained by the almost complete suppression of the native Irish population, but it enabled the Anglo-Irish to develop a considerable degree of prosperity and wealth, and with these printing presses sprang up throughout the country and the output of printed books multiplied rapidly.

For the material for these books printers had not to depend alone on writers resident in Ireland, though there were many such, for owing to the absence of any law of copyright, books printed in England could be reprinted and sold in Ireland

without restriction. This privilege was largely made use of, and in order to lessen their loss English authors not infrequently contracted to have their works printed and published simultaneously in England and Ireland. In addition printing in Ireland was said to be more expeditiously, more cheaply, and often better done than it was in England. As a result of this Irish bibliography has much more than a local interest, and it is safe to say that there were few notable writers in England during the eighteenth century whose works, or some of them, were not printed in Ireland.

Though Irish printed books have thus a wide interest singularly little work was done in Irish bibliography till recent times. James Ware had published in 1639 his *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae*, a small quarto volume of one hundred and forty-three pages, that was printed by the Society of Stationers in Dublin. This work was translated into English with considerable additions by Walter Harris, who published it in folio in 1746 as a part of his edition of the Works of James Ware. William Nicolson, the Lord Bishop of Derry, and formerly Lord Bishop of Carlisle, published his *Irish Historical Library* in 1724 (Dublin: Aaron Rhames, 1724. 8vo, pp. xl, 246 and 10. 4), which was subsequently reprinted in quarto with the English and Scotch Historical Libraries in 1776 (London: T. Evans). In 1823 William Shaw Mason published *A Bibliotheca Hibernicana: or a descriptive catalogue of a select Irish Library, collected for the Rt. Hon. Robert Peel*. This little book, now rarely met with, of which fifty copies were printed by W. Folds, contains a short description of some hundred and twenty-five books with a few bibliographical notes. The well-known *Typographical Gazetteer* by the Rev. Henry Cotton can scarcely be considered an Irish work, though the author was at the time of its publication an Irish clergyman. The greater part of the work which it contains was done while Cotton was Sub-Librarian at the

Bodleian. In 1867 that prolific writer Richard Robert Madden published an important bibliographical work, *The History of Irish Periodical Literature* (London: T. C. Newby, 1867. Vols. I and II, 8vo), which contains a mine of information on the subject with which it deals. In 1872 Evelyn Philip Shirley issued a catalogue of his library at Lough Fea, County Monaghan, which was privately printed at the Chiswick Press. This catalogue contains a list of many works relating to Ireland as well as some bibliographical notes (8vo, pp. 386). John Anderson, the Hon. Secretary of the Linenhall Library, Belfast, published in 1887 a catalogue of early Belfast printed books from 1690 to 1830, which contains important information on the early Belfast printed Bibles (Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, 1887. 8vo, pp. 62 and III).

The modern development of Irish bibliography may be said to date from two papers read by the late Sir John Thomas Gilbert before the Royal Irish Academy in 1896 and 1897. These papers were subsequently edited by Mr. E. R. McClintock Dix, and published in the Proceedings of the Academy in 1904 (Vol. XXV, Sect. C, p. 117). At that time Mr. Dix had already published several papers of his own on Irish bibliography, a subject of which he was soon to become the chief exponent. His catalogue of early Dublin printed books from 1600 to 1700, published between 1898 and 1912, is a monument of industry and accurate research, and what he then did for Dublin printed books he has subsequently done for many other Irish towns.

Even purely Irish bibliography is too large a subject for one person to deal with adequately, and Mr. Dix, the enthusiastic worker that he is, determined to enlist the help of others by founding the Bibliographical Society of Ireland. The project was warmly received, and the first meeting of the Society, with Mr. Dix as President, was held on 1 March

1918. Though only three years old the Society has already done some excellent work. A small volume of Transactions has been published, which besides containing several contributions from Mr. Dix, has an important account of Irish Theatrical Literature by Mr. James J. O'Neill, Librarian of University College, Dublin, and an account of the first hundred years of the Dublin Directory by Mr. Joseph Dennon of the National Library of Ireland. Both these papers contain much information of use to students of Irish history, information, too, that is not accessible elsewhere.

Though the Bibliographical Society of Ireland now consists of over one hundred and twenty members a much larger membership is necessary if its activities are to be developed to the full. Support is needed not only at home but in other countries, and the Society feels confident of its ability to repay with interest all those who support it. The modest subscription of five shillings a year confers the full privileges of membership, and Bibliographers can feel that by joining the Society not only are they helping forward the study of the subject in which they are interested, but that they are also getting in return much valuable information. Science, art, and letters do not recognize geographical limitations, and though their votaries must perforce submit to them, yet they can appeal with confidence for the help and good will of all peoples. All communications about the Society or its publications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, F. W. Poulter, National Library, Kildare Street, Dublin.

CAMBRIDGE PRINTING¹

JAN VAN SIBERCH, or Siborch, began issuing books from the first press set up at Cambridge in 1521, and the four-hundredth anniversary of his start is here celebrated by Mr. G. J. Gray in a pamphlet on Siberch himself and by Mr. S. C. Roberts by a general survey of the work done not only by Siberch but by the later printers, who were really printers to the University. To settle the order in which the few books which proceeded from Siberch's press in 1521 and 1522 were produced was the piece of work on which Henry Bradshaw was engaged at the time of his death, and his paper on the subject, as completed by Mr. Jenkinson, was prefixed to a facsimile of the first of them (Henry Bullock's Latin speech when Cardinal Wolsey visited Cambridge), still purchasable from Messrs. Bowes & Bowes at the modest price of five shillings. Mr. Gray, who has already written twice on Siberch in supplement of Bradshaw, here records once more the discovery by Mr. Duff at the Chapter-house Library at Westminster Abbey of two leaves of an edition of Lily's Grammar in Siberch's types and a letter to Siberch from Peter Kaetz, Mr. Bowes's discovery at Dublin of a variant state of the Galen, and the acquisition by Dr. J. F. Payne of copies of both states bound in a single volume which he gave to the College of Physicians, with other minor

¹ *John Siberch, the first Cambridge Printer, 1521-1522.* By GEORGE J. GRAY. In Commemoration of the Four-hundredth Anniversary of Printing in Cambridge. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1921, pp. 25. Price 2s. 6d. net.

A History of the Cambridge University Press, 1521-1921. By S. C. ROBERTS. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1921, pp. xv, 190. Price 17s. 6d. net.

points. His pamphlet thus has not very much that is new in it, but it brings together what is known of Siberch in a convenient form and is a highly suitable commemoration of the fourth centenary of his press.

Mr. Roberts also begins with an account of Siberch and his activities which owes something to Mr. Gray, but also contains some features of its own, such as the notes on the extant copies of the books Siberch printed; but the bulk of his book is concerned with the later history of printing at Cambridge. In 1534 the University obtained a charter empowering it to appoint three stationers and printers with powers to sell and print such books as the University approved. Five years earlier the University had petitioned for the right to appoint three booksellers, and Mr. Roberts is no doubt right in connecting this petition with the charter of 1534. It may be suggested, however, that the charter should also be connected with the Act subsequently passed in that year which withdrew the special privileges granted in the reign of Richard III for the importation of books, the reason alleged being that English printers were now sufficiently expert to print all the books needed. It might almost be guessed, indeed, that the addition of printing rights to the bookselling rights asked for by the University came from the royal initiative to help pave the way for the contemplated Act. If the University had really desired printing rights it would hardly have refrained from using them, as it did for forty-nine years, an attempt to set John Kingston printing at Cambridge in 1576 being abandoned at Burghley's request, and the first printer to the University only at last appointed by grace of 3 May 1583.

Thomas Thomas, Fellow of King's College, though the Bishop of London was probably justified in calling him 'a man utterlie ignoraunte in printinge', brought to the Press his own Latin dictionary and thus did much to justify

its existence, and with better health and longer life might have made it a credit to the University. His death in 1588 was a real misfortune, as the University replaced him by a London printer, John Legate, and thus inaugurated a system of which Mr. Roberts (who curiously dates it from the Charter of 1534) writes, in connexion with the reforms instituted in 1696 :

Under that system the university simply licensed tradesmen (who might or might not be members of the university) to print and sell books ; and the proper working of the Press was dependent on the capabilities of the individual printer. He might be bullied by the London Stationers, as were Thomas Thomas and John Legate (the elder), and involve the university in a long series of petitions and counter petitions ; on the other hand he might make commercially profitable arrangements with the Stationers' Company, as did Thomas Buck, and disregard the interests of the university ; he might accept the office with no intention of printing, but simply in the interests of a family monopoly, as did Francis Buck ; or he might neglect his duties altogether, as did John Legate, the younger. Consequently, the standard of typography, the expansion of the Press buildings, and the purchase of new type were at the mercy of the commercial fortunes of the holders of the patents.

The indictment is a severe one, and Mr. Roberts himself supplies plenty of material which could be used in extenuation, but substantially it is true, and with some such thoughts in his mind the Duke of Somerset as Chancellor, presumably at the instigation of Richard Bentley, in 1696, urged the University to do better. By grace of 21 January 1697 the first Press syndicate was formed, and the management of the Press was confided to the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Houses, the Professors, and twelve other members of the University, with a committee, which seems to have changed every month, to look after details !

By 1725, we are told, 'the driving power of Bentley's 'energy and enthusiasm was flagging,' and for the next thirteen years 'there are no entries in the Curators' minute 'book'. The chief cause 'of the failure of the Press to fulfil

'the high hopes of 1696' appears, in the words of Bentley's biographer (J. H. Monk),

to have been the want of a permanent committee of management, a measure which, however obvious, was not adopted till many years afterwards. In the meantime the disbursement of large sums of money, as well as the necessary negotiations with persons of business, were entrusted to the individuals holding the annual office of Vice-Chancellor, who in many cases possessed no previous acquaintance with the concern; a system which inevitably led to injurious and almost ruinous consequences.

Mr. Roberts is not very communicative as to the means by which this second unhappy 'system' was reformed. On the last page of his narrative he tells us that 'the government of the Press by a body of Syndics appointed by the Senate of the university has, with certain important modifications, persisted since 1698,' but it is not clear what these 'important modifications' were, though we are told that 'the constitution of the Syndicate has been more than once revised—notably in 1782 and 1855—and the length of a Syndic's tenure of office varied from time to time'. There are now, in addition to the Vice-Chancellor, fourteen Syndics, holding office for seven years, and a permanent Secretary, first appointed in 1892. The importance of the permanent Secretary can hardly be over-estimated, and the better fortunes of the Press since 1737 are no doubt largely due to the better type of men appointed to the office of University printer. But the management of the press of a great university is a matter of no small interest, and more details as to its history during the last two centuries would have been welcome.

If Mr. Roberts's book is slightly disappointing in respect of the history of the management of the Press, it has plenty of interesting information. The story of the struggle of the University against the Stationers' Company is considerably augmented, and though Mr. Roberts is inclined to apologize

for giving so much space to it the details are really important. Personally, I am especially grateful for it as the evident reluctance of the University to set cumbrous machinery in motion to right its wrongs makes it easy to understand why such a much less influential class as actors might be willing to suffer small wrongs rather than worry their patron to right them. Other important episodes are those of the Bible-printing done at the Press (or leased out to Londoners), Baskerville's tenure of office, and the experiments in stereo-typing. Great gratitude is due for the short-title list of books printed at Cambridge up to the close of 1750. It will be very useful, and every additional year for which it can be given will be a gain. In fact, the only fault I am inclined to find with Mr. Roberts's book is that there is not more of it.

It only remains to say that it is very well printed, in a style which shows the influence of Mr. Bruce Rogers's engagement as typographical adviser to the Press during his too brief stay in England, and to wish the Press every success.

A. W. POLLARD.

GOOD WISHES

TO *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector*. Under the editorship of Mr. Wilfred Partington this has won the affection of many book lovers during its two years' existence as a weekly, by its lightness of touch, its modernity, and its consistent good feeling in all cases where good feeling is needed. It has now become a two-shilling monthly, and starts with some admirable illustrations of work by Mr. James McBey, and articles by Mr. Shorter on George Meredith, by Professor Saintsbury on Austin Dobson—'the man and his work', by Mr. Drinkwater on 'The World and the Artist', by Mr. Herbert Garland on that most difficult problem Mr. Voynich's cipher manuscript by Roger Bacon (which Professor Newbold is trying so hard to read), and by Mr. Davenport on English gold-tooled Bindings. There are also poems by Mr. De la Mare, and numerous reviews. I feel, a little enviously, it must be nice to be so modern, and hope that all readers of *The Library* will join in good wishes to *The Bookman's Journal*, which is winning many new readers to the cause of bibliography.

To *The London Mercury*. The *L. M.* needs no praise, but a word of congratulation may be permitted at the beginning of its third year, and it also deserves our good wishes as a popularizer of bibliography and a discoverer of good work. An editorial note tells us that in its first year it had 'ninety-four different signatures to contributions' and that this number has now been increased by sixty new ones. *The London Mercury* not only has monthly 'Bibliographical Notes', but also monthly 'Book-Production Notes', a topic which has not received as much attention from the Biblio-

graphical Society as it deserves. We have done well in celebrating the fine work of early printers, but we have done very little to encourage fine work among our contemporaries, and Mr. Newdigate's notes should stir us to do more.

To *The Print Collector's Quarterly*. Nos. 2 and 3 of this contain articles on Jean Duvet by Mr. A. E. Popham; on The Modern Woodcut by Herbert Furst; on etchings of Méryon (by H. J. L. Wright), George Clausen (by Frank Gibson), and Sir J. C. Robinson (by R. L. Allhusen); and on the work of Hendrik, Count Goudt (by H. S. Reitlinger), and Albert Besnard (by Clément Janin). The profusion of illustrations in each number fills me with hopeless admiration.

To *The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1917-1919. Issued by The Library Association*. Language and Literature: (i) Classical, Oriental, and Primitive, 2s. 6d.; (ii) Modern European, 5s. Of this I can only say that it raises subject-indexing to a new power by adding, to the vague titles which writers in periodicals so often affect, beautifully concise notes as to what the articles are really about. The work is so good throughout that it must be done by a small army of specialists, and it deserves all possible praise and support

A. W. P.

JOHN WICKHAM LEGG

DEATH came as a friend to Dr. Wickham Legg, for no one who cared for him could wish that he should have lived on in blindness and incipient mental trouble, and he had done fine work in two different fields. His first book, *A Guide to the Examination of Urine*, published in 1869, reached its sixth edition in 1885; between 1874 and 1887 he held various appointments at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and gave the Bradshaw Lectures at the College of Physicians. In 1881 he commenced liturgiologist with a paper on the lawfulness of the Sarum colours in the diocese of London, showed his full quality in his edition of the Quignon Breviary in 1888, found his appropriate place as chairman of Council of the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1895, and held it till 1915, and on either side of this last date produced one of his best works, *English Church Life from 1660 to 1833* (1914), and an edition of the *Sarum Missal* from three early manuscripts (1916). He joined the Bibliographical Society about 1900, for some years served on the Council, and contributed to our Transactions papers on *The Bibliography of Marcus Aurelius* (x. 15-81), and on *An Agreement in 1536 to bring out the second Breviary of Cardinal Quignon* (xiii. 323-48). At our November meeting Mr. Madan briefly commemorated Dr. Legg's services to the Society, and the tribute was well deserved.

A. W. P.